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THE GREEK CYNICS



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# THE GREEK CYNICS

BY

FARRAND SAYRE, PH.D.

1948

PUBLISHED BY J. H. FURST COMPANY

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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## FOREWORD

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11/19/51  
This work was begun as a revision of a former work entitled, "Diogenes of Sinope, a Study of Greek Cynicism." But since there have been some changes in the point of view and some additional matter has been included, it is thought more appropriate to regard it as a new work on the same subject. Diogenes of Sinope was a semi-mythical character whose connection with Cynicism is doubtful.

There are several versions of Cynicism; for instance there is that of Epictetus, that of Julian, that of Theodor Gomperz and that of D. R. Dudley. In this work an attempt has been made to show the Greek Cynics as they were and to explain their philosophy.

FARRAND SAYRE.

The Johns Hopkins University.

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## GREEK CYNICISM

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Authorities usually describe Greek Cynicism as a philosophy in which the object was virtue; it has also been said to be "following nature," and the Cynics have been called primitivists, i. e. imitators of the Golden Race of Hesiod.

Suidas defined Cynicism as "a short cut to virtue." Plutarch says; "The Cynics say that they have found a short cut and, as it were, a forced march to virtue" (Anatorius 759). "They (Cynics) also dispense with the ordinary subjects of instruction . . . hence it has been said that Cynicism is a short cut to virtue" (Diogenes Laertius 6, 104). "Cynicism being a short cut to virtue, as Apollodorus calls it is his Ethics" (Ibid. 7, 121). Lucian wrote: "As soon as I came to Elis . . . I overheard a Cynic bawling out the usual street corner invocation to Virtue" (Peregrinus 2). The Roman Emperor Julian said; "They (Cynics) say that they are traveling the short and ready road to virtue. I would that they were going by the longer, for they would more readily arrive by that road than by this of theirs" (7, 225).

A question arises as to the sense in which the Cynics used the word virtue. Origen wrote: "Philosophers verily would wish to collect together such hearers of their discourses as exhort men to virtue,—a practice which certain of the Cynics especially have followed, who converse publicly with those whom they happen to meet" (Against Celsus, 3, 50). Origen must have understood the Cynic use of the word virtue to mean or include morality; otherwise he would not have commended them.

The Greek word which is translated virtue is *ἀρετή*; it did not always, or even usually, mean morality. Its original meaning was probably courage or qualities acceptable to Ares, the god of war. Protagoras professed to teach virtue; when Socrates asked him what he meant by virtue, he replied that he taught men to be efficient and economical householders and effective public speakers (Plato, Protagoras 318-319). Aristotle made a distinction between *ἀρετή* (ex-

cellence) and ἠθικὴ ἀρετή (morality); thus, excellence (ἀρετή) in conversation required a moderate amount of wit and humor. (Nicomathean Ethics). Bion of Borysthenes was represented as saying; "Prudence (foresight) excels the other virtues as much as eyesight excels the other senses" (D.L. 4, 51). The Cynic virtues had no relation to morality, for Cynicism included amorality. Cicero wrote: "As to the whole system of the Cynics, we are absolutely to reject it because it is inconsistent with moral susceptibility, without which nothing can be honest, nothing can be virtuous" (De Officiis 1, 14). Cicero was a man of character, ability and education; he was a close student of Greek philosophy and his opinion on this subject merits serious consideration. Lactantius says of Cynicism: "There is nothing in that teaching which is instruction in virtue. Even those who accept more honorable things either do not practice what they preach, or if they do, which rarely happens, their teaching leads them, not to what is morally right, but to nature, which often leads ignorant men to praise them" (Div. Inst. 3, 15). Dio Chrysostom says of Cynics: "They achieve no good at all but rather the worst possible harm, for they accustom ignorant thoughtless people to deride philosophers in general" (32, 9). Athenaeus says, addressing Cynics: "You are aliens to virtue and futile when it comes to a useful life" (Deip. 13, 611d). Lucian says of Cynics: "Followers of the dog, they care little to excel in the canine virtues; they are neither trusty guardians nor affectionate faithful servants" (The Runaways 19). Lucian says also; "Their lips water at the sight of coin; they are dogs for temper, hares for cowardice, apes for imitativeness, asses for lust, cats for thievery, cocks for jealousy. Ordinary people . . . are revolted by the philosophy which breeds such brutes" (The Fisher). Emperor Julian said: "If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity" (6, 198). He said also of a treatise written by Oenomaus: "Are we to think it (Cynicism) as a sort of madness, a method of life not suitable for a human being, but rather a brutish attitude of mind which reckes naught of the beautiful, the honorable or the good? for Oenomaus would make many people hold this view of it. This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence for the

gods, to bring dishonor on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honor and justice and, more than this, to trample on those laws which have been, as it were, engraved on our souls by the gods" (6, 209). Oenomaus was a Greek writer of the 2d century A.D. who wrote a treatise on Cynicism and another on Crates and Diogenes; it is probable that he was better informed in regard to Cynicism than was Julian. The word "virtue" is often applied to sexual morality, in the sense of chastity or continence; but there was nothing of this in Cynicism. Diogenes, the model and prototype of the Cynics, was said to be a patron of both the Corinthian courtesan Lais and the Athenian courtesan Phryne (Clemens Romanus, *Homilies* 3, 18; Athenaeus, *Deip.* 13, 588 c & e; Lucian, *A True Story*; Tertullian, *Apol.* 46). While these stories are, no doubt, inventions, they show that the Cynics made no pretence of sexual morality. "He (Diogenes) advocated community of wives, recognizing no other marriage than a union of the man who persuades with the woman who consents" (D. L. 6, 72). Such unions were natural; marriage was man-made, artificial and unnatural. Diogenes was said also to have practiced an obscene form of sexual indulgence (D. L. 6, 46 & 69; *Letters of Diogenes* 42 & 44; Dio Chrysostom 6, 16-20; Athenaeus 4, 158 f.). Diogenes was said to have approved of incest (Dio Chrysostom 10, 29-30). The tragedy "Oedipus," which was attributed to Diogenes, was said to have approved of incest (Philodemus, *On the Stoics*; cf. D. L. 7, 188). Since Diogenes was the model of the Cynics and the exemplar of Cynicism, the stories of him show the Cynic standards of morality.

The definition of Cynicism as "following nature" is not distinctive for all schools of Greek philosophy, and there were ten or more of them, accepted this principle. However, the Cynics gave this principle an application which differed from that of other schools. It was generally accepted that, since men were endowed with reason and brutes were not, what was natural for a brute was not natural for a man. But the Cynics believed that what was natural for men could be learned from observation and imitation of brutes. "Through watching a mouse running about, says Theophrastus in the Megarian dialogue, not looking for a place



to lie down in, not afraid of the dark, not seeking any of the things which are considered to be dainties, he (Diogenes) discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances" (D. L. 6, 22). And Diogenes got the idea of living in an empty earthen ware jar from seeing a snail carrying its shell (16th Letter of Diogenes). The Cynics held that the lower animals were superior to men in some respects, since they were independent of shoes, clothing, shelter and special preparation of their food and that they were worthy of imitation in these respects as far as men were able (36th Letter of Diogenes; Dio Chrysostom 6, 26; Lucian, *Cynicus* 14-15). Diogenes was said to have eaten raw meat (D. L. 6, 34; Julian 6, 191; Plutarch, *Whether Water or Fire is more useful*; *Ibid.* *On the Eating of Flesh*). Accordingly, it was the Cynic custom to go bare foot, wear but one garment winter and summer alike and to avoid other shelter than temples and public bath houses. W. W. Tarn comments on Cynicism as follows: "It was not a philosophy, like those of the four schools, with a body of doctrine; it was a way of life (Cf. D. L. 6, 103), a mode of thought and was entirely negative; you were to discard everything on which civilization had been built up and, often enough, unless you were a Crates or a Demonax, you ended by finding nothing at the bottom but mere animalism. It never constructed anything which affected men otherwise than as individuals" (*American Journal of Philosophy*. Jan. 1939, p. 42). Here Tarn ignores the reasoning by which the Cynics reached their method of life.

The Cynics especially selected the dog as their model; in this they were probably influenced by the fact that Diogenes had been called "The Dog." The dog which they imitated was not the watch dog, the house dog or the hunting dog, but the homeless and ownerless vagrant. Philodemus says of the Cynics, "It pleases these dreadful men to adopt the life of a dog" (*On the Stoics*). Tatian said, addressing Cynics; "O men competing with the dog, you know not God and so have turned to the imitation of an irrational animal" (*Address to the Greeks* 25). Athenaeus says, addressing Cynics: "In the words of Clearchus of Soli, you do not pursue the life of endurance, but really you live like dogs . . . for



you neither associate with men, nor can you discern the character of any one you deal with, and further you lag far behind the dog in your powers of perception and live idly and unguardedly. But the dog is also by nature snarling and voracious and, what is more, he lives an abject and naked life, and both of these qualities you diligently affect, for you are given to abuse; you are voracious and live homeless and hearthless" (Deip. 13, 611b). Valerius Martialis said: "He whom you often see, Comus, within the sanctuary of our patroness Pallas and on the threshold of the new temple, this old man with a staff and a wallet, his white hair stiff with filth, and whose foul beard falls upon his breast, who covers himself on his wretched bed with a wax colored cloak, which is his only wife, and to whom the passers by give the food he barks for; you, deceived by false appearances, think him a Cynic; he is not a Cynic, Comus. What is he then? A dog" (Epigrams 4, 53). Suidas says of Diogenes, "He was the first to be called 'dog'"; this indicates that he was not the only "dog" but only the first.

In the 16th Letter of Crates it is stated that a Cynic is called *κύων* (a dog) and that their philosophy was called *κυνισμός* (dog-gishness or dogism). The names, Cynic and Cynicism, are derived from the Greek *κυνικός* (dog-like) and indicate the manner of life of the Cynics. Lactantius says of them; "What wonder that they bore the name and designation of the dogs whose lives they imitate" (Div. Inst. 3, 15). Diogenes Laertius says; "Some schools took their name from cities . . . others from localities . . . others again from derisive nicknames, as the Cynics" (1, 17).\*

The Cynics accepted the principle of following nature and their amorality was incidental to it, but "following nature" was not the dominant idea of Cynicism and does not adequately describe it.

The Cynics were not imitators of the Golden Race of Hesiod (Works and Days 109) for the mythical Golden Race and the people of the "age of Kronos" (Plato, Politicus 272) were supposed to have lived under conditions which differed from the present and it would not be possible for a member of the present race to imitate them. This idea seems to be based on a passage in

\* The Cynosarges myth is an absurdity, for there were no Cynics in the time of Antisthenes.

a dissertation of Maximus Tyrius (36). But Maximus was not a Cynic; this idea seems to have originated with himself and it is not supported by any traditions emanating from the Cynics. Neither were the Cynics primitivistic; they recognized existing conditions and sought happiness for themselves rather than the imitation of their remote ancestors who lived before the advent of civilization. They did not seek isolation but frequented market places \* (Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 27, 10) and attended public gatherings, such as the Isthmian, Promethian and Olympic games. Their primitive ancestors were believed to have had permanent homes in caves or rudely constructed huts. Their beggary, their wearing woven cloaks instead of skins of wild animals and their use of temples and public bath houses as dormitories were inconsistent with primitivism. A primitivist would seek to provide for his own needs; the Cynics made no effort to be self-supporting. However, their repudiation of civilization was akin to primitivism. Seneca wrote: "How, I ask, can you consistently admire both Diogenes and Daedalus? Which of these two seems a wise man—the one who devised the saw, or the one who, on seeing a boy drink water from the hollow of his hand, forthwith took his cup from his wallet and broke it, upbraiding himself with these words, 'Fool that I was to have been carrying superfluous baggage all this time,' and then curled himself up in his earthen ware jar and lay down to sleep" (*Epist. Morales* 90, 14; Cf. *D. L.* 6, 37). Here Daedalus represents progressive civilization; Diogenes a repudiation of it. Prometheus was generally credited by the Greeks, not only with bringing fire to men, but also with teaching them reading and writing, the construction of houses and ships, the domestication of wild animals, agriculture and other arts (*Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound* 440 f.; *Plato, Politicus* 274). He was generally regarded as a benefactor, but Dio Chrysostom quotes Diogenes as saying that Prometheus brought evils to men by his teaching and that he was justly punished by Zeus on this account (8, 30). Here also we find a repudiation of civilization.

\* Gregory Nazianzen described Cynics as "lounging idly about market places."

The object of Cynicism was happiness; it was a form of eudaimonism and it is of interest as a human experiment with that object in view. Julian said; "The end and aim of the Cynic philosophy, as indeed of every philosophy, is happiness" (6, 193), also; "Their (Diogenes and Crates) main concern was how they might themselves attain to happiness" (6, 207). Diogenes was represented as writing: "Telephus concealed himself in this form of life in order that he might gain health, Ulysses did so in order to kill the suitors who wronged him, I that I may gain happiness" (34th Letter). Crates was represented as writing; "If this way of being a philosopher is unpleasant, it is a short cut. It leads to happiness, even though, as Diogenes said, we have to walk through fire" (6th Letter). The reference here appears to be to the 30th Letter of Diogenes, in which we find; "I, feeling my superiority to hardship, preferred the short and difficult road, for the desire for happiness was urgent upon me, though it should carry me through fire and swords." "Many, when they hear of a short cut leading to happiness, seek happiness like us" (12th Letter of Diogenes). "That of Diogenes is found to be the short cut to happiness" (13th Letter of Crates). "Do not shun practicing (Cynicism), but avoid discoursing, for the long road to happiness is through discourses, but that through the daily practice of deeds is the short way" (21st Letter of Crates).

The Cynics sought happiness through freedom. The Cynic conception of freedom included freedom from desires, from fear, anger, grief and other emotions, from religious or moral control, from the authority of the city or state or public officials, from regard for public opinion and freedom also from the care of property, from confinement to any locality and from the care and support of wives and children. Diogenes Laertius describes Diogenes as, "allowing convention no such authority as he allowed to natural right, and asserting that the manner of life he lived was the same as that of Hercules when he preferred freedom to everything" (6, 71). "He (Diogenes) used to say, 'From the time that Antisthenes set me free, I have not been a slave'" (Epictetus 3, 24, 67; Ibid. 4, 1, 114). "We live in perfect peace, having been made free from every evil by the Sinopean Diogenes" (7th Letter

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of Crates). "I will sail to Athens bearing a gift for you (Diogenes) in return for the freedom to which we were brought by your teaching" (8th Letter of Crates). "He (Diogenes) says that to be naked is better than any purple robe and to sleep on the bare ground is the softest bed and he gives as a proof of each thing which he affirms his own courage, his peace of mind and his freedom" (Epictetus 1, 24). "Look at me (Diogenes) who am without a city. I sleep on the ground, I have no wife, no children, no praetorium, but only the earth and the heavens and one poor cloak. And what do I want? Am I not without sorrow? Am I not without fear? Am I not free?" (Epictetus 3, 22). Epictetus also says: "Does freedom seem to you to be a good? Yes, the greatest. Is it possible then for a man who has this greatest good to be unhappy or to fare badly? No." (4, 1, 52). Maximus Tyrius describes Cynic freedom as follows: "The Sinopean from Pontus, having consulted Apollo, stripped off all superfluities, freed himself from fetters and went about the earth entirely free, like a bird, not fearing tyrants, not constrained by any law, not disturbed by politics, not hampered by rearing children, not restricted by marriage, not intent upon agriculture, not troubled with military service nor interested in markets . . . Who appears to you to be free? The politician? You say that he is a slave of many masters. The orator? You say that he is at the mercy of wrong decisions. The ruler? You say that he is a slave of unbridled appetites. The general? You say that he is subject to reverses from unknown causes. The money maker? A slave to the uncertainties of trade. The philosopher? What kind of philosophy? Indeed, I praise Socrates, but I hear him saying 'I obey the law, I go to prison voluntarily and I take the poison voluntarily.' O Socrates, do you not see what you are saying? Do you then yield voluntarily or are you an involuntary victim of fortune? Obeying the law? What law? For if you mean the law of Zeus, I commend the law; but if you mean the law of Solon, in what was Solon better than Socrates? . . . Therefore I say that from this tyranny of circumstances the only liberation is in that life which raised Diogenes above Lycurgus and Solon and Artaxerxes and Alexander and made him more free than Socrates" (36, 56).



The vagrant ownerless dog was free and on this account was regarded by the Cynics as worthy of emulation. As a result of the quest for freedom the Cynics were extreme individualists. The quest was personal and the Cynic had no loyalty to family, state or race. He did not discriminate against any race or nationality because he did not favor any. "We should not give thanks to our parents—either because we were born, since creatures are generated by nature—nor on account of what we are for this results from a combination of elements. And there should be no gratitude for what comes by choice and purpose" (21st Letter of Diogenes). "Whoever trusts us will remain single, those who do not trust us will rear children. And if the race of men should cease to exist, there would be as much cause for regret as there would be if the flies and wasps should pass away" (47th Letter of Diogenes).

The Cynic virtues were the qualities through which freedom was attained. The description of Cynicism as "the pursuit of virtue" mistakes the means for the end and is misleading. The most important of these virtues was ἀπάθεια (callousness, insensibility or apathy); it was associated with ἀδιάφορον (indifference). Julian is inconsistent in saying; "Apathy they (Cynics) regard as the end and aim" (6, 192), for apathy was only a means to the end. Diogenes was represented as writing; "I speak plainly as an interpreter of apathy, opposing the life of folly" (21st Letter). The Cynics regarded peace of mind as happiness or an essential element of it. "Diogenes said, 'We say it is true happiness when the mind and the soul are peaceful and cheerful'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 4, 103, 21). Teles said; "One who is happy is free from suffering and trouble" (Stobaeus, Flor. 4, 108, 83). Teles also argued that we should not grieve for the death of parents, children, relatives or friends (Stobaeus, Flor. 108, 83), and Teles quotes Crates as saying that a man should live contented with present things, not desiring what is not present and not discontented with chance happenings (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31). "He (Bion) adopted the Cynic mode of life, donning cloak and wallet; for little else was needed to convert him to apathy" (D. L. 4, 52). Teles quotes Bion as saying; "We should not try to change the

things but should prepare ourselves to meet and endure them" (Teletis Reliquiae p. 10).

Apathy was attained through training (*ἀσκησις*) and the Cynic was expected to train himself. "Nothing in life, however, he (Diogenes) maintained, has any chance of succeeding without strenuous training; and this is capable of overcoming anything" (D. L. 6, 71). The following stories illustrate the Cynic conception of training. "He (Diogenes) once begged alms of a statue and when asked why he did so, replied, 'To get training in being refused'" (D. L. 6, 49; 11th Letter of Diogenes). "The man from Sinope went to houses of ill fame and wrangled with the inmates. What did he seek? to learn to bear insults calmly, meeting them with insults" (Gregory Nazianzen, *Carmina Moralia* 494-496; Cf. D. L. 6, 94).

An important Cynic virtue was *καρτερία* (hardihood, ruggedness or endurance). It may be regarded as the physical form of apathy. It was said to have been attained or promoted by hardening exercises but with the later Cynics it came to mean the ability to endure the hardships incident to the Cynic form of life. The opposite of this virtue was *μαλακία* (softness, effeminacy or foppery), the vice most frequently and most severely denounced by the Cynics. Diogenes was said to have rolled in his earthen ware jar over hot sand, to have walked barefooted over snow and to have embraced a bronze statue in freezing weather (D. L. 6, 23 & 34). These hardening exercises aroused suspicions of exhibitionism. "One of the Spartans saw Diogenes the Cynic holding his arms around a bronze statue in very cold weather and asked Diogenes if he was cold and when Diogenes said 'No,' the other said, 'What great thing are you doing then?'" (Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 233, 16). Epictetus is evidently referring to the ostentation of the Cynics in the following: "On no occasion call yourself a philosopher . . . nor if you drink water, say, 'I drink water' . . . and if you wish to exercise yourself . . . do it for yourself and not for others; do not embrace statues" (Encheiridion 46-47).

Dio Chrysostom lists the hardships of the Cynics as hunger, cold, thirst, loss of reputation, beatings and torture (8, 16). Lucian represents a Cynic as saying; "Nor will you esteem it any

inconvenience if a beating or a turn of the rack should fall to your lot" (*Vitarum Auctio* 10). Athenaeus calls Cynics, "rogues from the whipping post and the rack, devourers of other men's goods" (*Deip.* 4, 164). Diogenes was represented as writing to a Cynic: "I hear that you are aggrieved because drunken Athenian youths strike us . . . Know that the body of Diogenes has been beaten by drunken men" (20th Letter; Cf. *D. L.* 6, 33 & 41). Beatings and torture may have come to the Cynics for their disregard of laws, abuse of public officials, their thievery or their obscene conduct in public.

We find an inconsistency between the description of Cynicism as a life of hardship and a description of it as a life of ease. It may indicate that the talk of hardships did not always have much foundation. There was said to be an epitaph of Diogenes crediting him with, "Pointing out to mortals . . . the easiest path of life" (*D. L.* 6, 78). Seneca says, "The wise man (Diogenes) was easy going in his way of living" (*Epist. Morales* 90, 14). Lucian says of Demonax, "Probably he had more in common with Socrates, although he seemed to follow the man of Sinope in dress and easy going ways" (*Demonax* 5).

The Cynic principle of apathy naturally led to idleness, for if a Cynic engaged in any form of work he would thereby show a lack of apathy; and work under the control of an employer was inconsistent with the Cynic conception of freedom. Diogenes was quoted as saying; "Instead of useless toils men should choose such as nature recommends, whereby they might have lived happily" (*D. L.* 6, 71). Chrysippus was credited with expressing many Cynic ideas and the following seems to be one of them; "What reason is there that he (the wise man) should provide a living? For if it be to support life, life itself is after all a thing indifferent. If it be for pleasure, pleasure too is a thing indifferent. While if it be for virtue, virtue in itself is sufficient to constitute happiness. The modes of getting a livelihood are also ludicrous" (*D. L.* 7, 189). Lucian narrates "An old anecdote about the Sinopean; a report that Philip was marching on the town had thrown all Corinth into a bustle; one was furbishing his arms, another wheeling stones, a third patching a wall, a fourth strength-

ening a battlement, every one making himself useful somehow or other, Diogenes, having nothing to do—of course no one thought of giving him a job—was moved by the sight to gird up his philosopher's cloak and begin rolling his earthen ware jar up and down the Craneum. An acquaintance asked and got this explanation, 'I do not want to be thought the only idler in such a busy multitude, I am rolling my jar to be like the rest' " (*Quomodo Historia Conscribenda sit*). This story may be a Cynic jibe at the uselessness of war, but it also shows the uselessness of the Cynic. Labor was regarded by the Cynics as a hardship and an evil. Lucian represents a Cynic as saying: "All that costly array of means of enjoyment which you so gloat over is obtained only at the price of labor of the body and vexation of the mind. Consider the gold that is so sought after, the silver, the luxurious houses, the elaborate clothing—and then remember through how much toil and trouble and danger these things have been acquired . . . I enjoy the things that cost the least trouble to prepare" (*Cynicus*). The 7th Letter of Crates, addressed "To the Rich," says: "You navigate the sea, till the soil, exercise tyranny . . . and do many things of this kind when you should be at rest." Gregory Nazianzen says of Diogenes; "His food was whatever was near and did not require labor" (*Poemata Theologica* 2, 227). Tertullian represents a Cynic as saying: "I owe no duty to the forum, the election ground or the senate. I am . . . no barking pleader, no judge, no soldier, no king. I have withdrawn from the populace. My only business is with myself. I have no care save not to care. The better life you would more enjoy in seclusion than in publicity. But you will call me indolent . . . None is born for another, being destined to die for himself" (*De Pallio* 5). Dio Chrysostom explained the idleness of the Cynics as follows: "From public affairs, lawsuits, rivalries, wars and factions he (Diogenes) kept himself clear. He tried especially to imitate the life of the gods, for they alone, as Homer asserts (*Od.* 4, 805), live at ease, implying that the life of man is full of labor and hardships" (6, 31). Epictetus said: "Is it not fitting that the Cynic should without any distraction be employed only in the ministration of God, able to go about among men, not tied down



by the common duties of mankind, not entangled in the ordinary relations of life? . . . How can he have time for his (teaching) who is tied to the duties of common life?" (3, 22, 69-76). Epictetus idealized Cynicism and attributed to it a religious motive which it did not possess, but he practically admits that the Cynic did no work except preaching. Julian said, addressing Cynics: "Do you really think it so great an achievement to carry a staff and let your hair grow and haunt cities and camps uttering calumnies against the noblest men and flattering the vilest? . . . You criticize everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise" (7, 223-236). Lactantius wrote: "Diogenes, with a multitude of his dogs (*canum*), who professed that high and complete virtue—the contempt of all possessions—preferred to beg for food rather than gain it by honorable labor or to have anything of his own. Certainly the life of a wise man should be an example to others. But if every one should imitate their wisdom how are cities to continue to exist?" (*Institut. Epitome* 34).

Apathy and idleness led to improvidence and by it the Cynic was freed from care for the future. Gregory Nazianzen says: "Come, O philosopher and wise man . . . Come dog, not with shamelessness, but with freedom of speech; not with gluttony, but with living-from-day-to-day" (*Oratio* 25, 2). Hieronymus says: "Satyrus, the biographer of illustrious men, relates that Diogenes, to guard himself against the cold, folded his cloak double; his scrip was his pantry and, aged, he carried a staff to support his feeble frame and he was commonly called 'living-from-day-to-day,' because in that very hour he begged and received food from any one" (*Adversus Jovinianum* 2, 14). "All the curses of tragedy, he (Diogenes) used to say had lighted upon him. At all events he was 'cityless, homeless, driven from his native land, a beggar, a wanderer, living-from-day-to-day'" (*D. L.* 6, 38; Cf. *Gnom. Vaticanum* 201; Julian 6, 195B).

Poverty was an important Cynic virtue; it freed the Cynic from the care of property, from worry over losses and from confinement to any locality. It left him free to wander from city to city, from state to state and from country to country. It also partially explains the Cynic idleness, for he did not have the ordinary incen-

tive to labor. Lactantius described poverty as the "high and complete virtue" of the Cynics (*Instit. Epit.* 34). Diogenes was represented as writing, "Remember that I teach you the principle of poverty with my life" (20th Letter). Lucian represents a Cynic as saying; "Have you money? Take my advice and throw it into the sea" (*Vitarum Auctio* 10). Diogenes was said to have persuaded Crates to throw his money into the sea (*D. L.* 6, 87). Diogenes was represented as writing, "The desire for money is the cause of all evil" (50th Letter; cf. 1 Timothy 6, 10). "The love of money he (Diogenes) declared to be the mother city of all evils" (*D. L.* 6, 50).

But the avoidance of money seems to have been a theory and a tradition with the later Cynics, rather than an actual practice. Seneca wrote "It is not to be endured that a man who despises money should ask for it. Your Cynic has publicly proclaimed his hatred of money and assumed the character of one who despises it; let him live up to his professions. It is most inconsistent for him to earn money by glorifying his poverty" (*De Beneficiis* 2, 17). Lucian says: "What is so monstrous is that every man of them (Cynics) says he has no needs, proclaims that wisdom is the only wealth, and directly afterward comes begging and makes a fuss if he is refused" (*The Fisher*). Tatian said: "Though they (Cynics) say that they want nothing, yet . . . they need a currier for their wallet, a weaver for their cloak, a wood cutter for their staff, the rich (from whom to beg) and a cook also for their gluttony . . . You (Cynics) cry out in public with an assumption of authority, and take upon you to avenge your own selves, and if you receive nothing, you indulge in abuse, and philosophy is with you the art of getting money" (*Address to the Greeks* 25). Lucian says that Cynics sometimes accumulated considerable wealth (*The Runaways* 20) and Athenaeus speaks of Cynics having banquets and paying high prices to entertainers (*Deip.* 3, 97). Petronius wrote: "Of what avail are laws where money rules alone, and the poor suitor can never succeed? The very men who mock at the time by carrying the Cynic wallet have sometimes been known to betray the truth for a price" (*Satyricon* 14).

But the Cynic theory was expressed by Juvenal: "Alexander felt, when he saw in that jar its great inhabitant, how much more really happy was he who coveted nothing, than he who aimed at gaining to himself the whole world; doomed to suffer perils equivalent to the exploits he achieved" (Satire 14). Poverty was not only an important virtue in itself; it was also the mother and indispensable condition of other virtues. Diogenes was represented as writing: "If poverty is not with you as a foundation, neither will virtue be, and poverty will drive away worse evils" (36th Letter). "Diogenes said that self taught poverty was a help toward philosophy, for the things which philosophy attempts to teach by reasoning, poverty forces us to practice" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 95, 11). "Diogenes said that virtue could not dwell with riches, either in a city or in a house" (Ibid. 3, 93, 35). Among the virtues bred and fostered by poverty were hardihood (*καρτερία*), frugality (*ἐντέλεια*) and simplicity (*ἀφέλεια*). The Cynic idea of frugality is described in the following: "Were not Crates and Diogenes poor? And did they not manage to get along easily, having become temperate, beggars and frugal? . . . Crates says that he gathered shellfish and beans and gifts with them" (Teletis Reliquiae, p. 14). "He (Crates) is contented with a worn cloak and barley bread and herbs . . . He slept in summer in temples and in winter in bath houses" (Ibid. p. 4). Suidas says of the Cynics: "They despise wealth, reputation and good birth; some used herbs and cold water and made use of any shelter that they happen upon" (Lexicon, *κυνισμός*). Socrates was condemned for his lack of frugality; "Diogenes said that Socrates had luxuries, that he went to excess in having a house and a bed and also in sometimes wearing sandals" (Aelian, Var. Hist. 4, 11). Simplicity was illustrated by the stories of Diogenes throwing away his cup on seeing a boy drink water from the hollow of his hands (Seneca, Epist. Morales 90, 14; D. L. 6, 37; 6th Letter of Diogenes) and throwing away his bowl on seeing a child take his food on a hollow piece of bread (D. L. 6, 37). A story of Diogenes represents him as carrying a lighted lantern (D. L. 6, 41); but this is inconsistent with the Cynic principle of simplicity, for a lantern is an unneces-

sary and artificial product of civilization. This principle explains the Cynic repudiation of civilization.

The Cynics did not express any sympathy for the poor for, in their opinion, the poor possessed the conditions of happiness, freedom and virtue. Neither were they friends, advocates and defenders of the poor, as they have sometimes been said to be. The possession of property was an encumbrance and a disadvantage. The Cynic's repudiation of possessions led them to ignore the property rights of other men and explains their thievery. One of the best known traditions of the Cynics was the following, which was attributed to Diogenes: "All things belong to the gods; the gods are friends of the wise and friends share all property in common; therefore all things are the property of the wise" (D. L. 6, 11, 37 & 72; 26th & 27th Letters of Crates; 10th Letter of Diogenes). The Cynics interpreted this to mean that they were free to take anything they wanted and could lay their hands on. Julian says that the Cynics disregard "the law that bids us keep our hands altogether and utterly from the property of others" and he compares them with bandits and pirates (7, 209-210). "When some one asked that he might have back his cloak, 'If it was a gift,' replied Diogenes, 'I possess it; while if it was a loan, I am using it'" (D. L. 6, 62). "He (Diogenes) was astonished that when slaves saw that their masters were gluttons, they did not steal some of the viands" (D. L. 6, 28). "And he (Diogenes) saw no impropriety in stealing anything from a temple" (D. L. 6, 73). Lucian called the Cynics "cats for thievery" (The Fisher). The Cynics claimed Hercules as a model (D. L. 6, 71; Lucian, *Vitarum Auctio* 10; Julian 6, 187) and they were probably acquainted with the story that Hercules took the oxen of Geryon without paying for them, by natural right, because he was the stronger (Plato, *Gorgias* 484 B).

The Cynics held that laws were made by men no wiser than themselves and that customs and conventionalities differed in different countries and consequently had no validity. Their quest of freedom led them to disregard both; it also led them to disregard public opinion, reputation, honor and dishonor. Crates was represented as writing: "If you are good you do not grieve over



evil things which are said . . . for this is all opinion, to be a slave to good and evil reputation, and this is in shadows . . . Try therefore to despise these things " (16th Letter), also: "We are already free from riches but love of honor does not yet free us from slavery, although, by Hercules! we are doing everything to be released from it. I will free myself from this also " (8th Letter). Teles wrote that honor and dishonor were equal (*Teletis Reliquiae* p. 11). Crates was said to have declared "Disrepute and poverty to be his country " (D. L. 6, 93). Diogenes was represented as urging a victor in the Olympic games to "Seek things that are really fine and learn to be strong, not by being beaten . . . but with the soul through poverty, disrepute, low birth or exile " (31st Letter). Disrepute was listed by Dio Chrysostom as one of the hardships incident to the Cynic form of life (8, 16 & 28).

Disregard of honor and reputation (*ἀδοξία*) was developed into open defiance of public opinion by shamelessness (*ἀναιδεια*). This was illustrated by the story of the "dog wedding" of Crates (*Apuleius*, *Florida* 14; *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Stromata* 4, 19; *Tatian*, *Address to the Greeks* 3). "It was his (Diogenes) habit to do everything in public, the works of Demeter and of Aphrodite alike . . . Behaving indecently in public, he wished it were as easy to banish hunger by rubbing the belly " (D. L. 6, 69). *Epictetus* says: "He ought not to wish to hide anything that he does, and if he does, he is gone, he has lost the character of a Cynic, of a man who lives under the open sky, of a free man " (3, 22, p. 250 Bohn). *Julian* said "The cities of Greece were averse to the excessive plainness and simplicity of the Cynic freedom of manner " (6, 185 C). *Lucian* represents a Cynic as saying: "Away with modesty, good nature and forbearance. Wipe the blush from your cheek forever . . . Scruple not to perform the deeds of darkness in broad daylight. Select your love adventures with a view to public entertainment " (*Vitarum Auctio* 10). *Dio Chrysostom* described *Diogenes* as terminating a discourse by squatting down and evacuating his bowels in the presence of his hearers (8, 36). *Epictatus* said: "The present Cynics are dogs that wait at tables and in no respect imitate the Cynics of old, except per-

chance in breaking wind but in nothing else" (3, 22, 80). This seems to have been a Cynic characteristic. Julian describes Diogenes as striking a youth with his staff for breaking wind in public and thus infringing on a Cynic prerogative (6, 197 C). This tradition may have originated in a story of Crates giving instruction in this subject (D. L. 6, 94; Cf. D. L. 7, 3). Or it may have come from an essay entitled "Pordalus," attributed to Diogenes (D. L. 6, 20 & 80) which probably related to it. The Cynic displayed his hardihood, his apathy, his courage and his freedom by affronting and shocking public opinion.

The Cynics scoffed at the customs and conventionalities of others, but were rigid in observance of their own. The Cynic would not appear anywhere without his wallet, staff and cloak, which must invariably be worn, dirty and ragged and worn so as to leave the right shoulder bare. He never wore shoes and his hair and beard were long and unkempt. Horace says that the Cynic, "Will shun the cloak wrought at Miletus with a greater aversion than dog or viper; he will die of cold unless you restore him his ragged garment" (Epistles 1, 17).

The progenitors of Cynicism were educated men, but Cynic apathy and idleness led to neglect of education and then ignorance became elevated to the rank of a Cynic virtue. "Diogenes, being asked who were the noblest men, said, 'Those despising wealth, learning, pleasure and life, esteeming above them poverty, ignorance, hardship and death'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 89, 4). "He (Diogenes) held that we should neglect music, geometry, astronomy and the like studies as useless and unnecessary" (D. L. 6, 73). "They (Cynics) also dispense with the ordinary subjects of instruction. At least Antisthenes used to say that those who had attained discretion had better not study reading and writing, lest they should be perverted by alien influences. So they get rid of geometry and music and all such studies" (D. L. 6, 103). Diogenes was represented as speaking scornfully of grammarians, musicians and mathematicians" (D. L. 6, 27-28). Bion is said to have "made sport of music and geometry" (D. L. 4, 53). The word "music," as used above, probably includes poetry in its meaning. "He (Diogenes) was great at pouring scorn on his

contemporaries; the school of Euclides he called bilious and Plato's lectures a waste of time" (D. L. 6, 24). "It was against the sophists, who wanted to be looked up to and thought they knew more than other men, that he (Diogenes) railed in particular" (Dio Chrysostom 6, 21). "The most ignorant of the rhetoricians . . . all rush into Cynicism. They adopt the staff, the long hair, the ignorance that goes with these, the impudence, the insolence and every thing of the sort" (Julian 7, 225).

Although the Cynics repudiated learning, they claimed to possess wisdom; for, did they not know the road to happiness? "To the man who said to him (Diogenes), 'You don't know anything, although you are a philosopher,' he replied, 'Even if I am but a pretender to wisdom, that in itself is philosophy'" (D. L. 6, 64). This seems to be an admission that the Cynic claim to possess wisdom was not based on learning. The Cynics asserted their superior wisdom by criticising and denouncing other men. Epicte-tus describes the ordinary conduct of a Cynic of his time as follows; "I will take a little bag and a staff and I will go about and begin to beg and to abuse those whom I meet; and if I see any man plucking the hair out of his body, I will rebuke him, or if he has dressed his hair or if he walks about in purple" (22, 10). "They (Cynics) are full of empty boasting and if one of them grows a long beard and elevates his eyebrows and throws his cloak over his shoulder, and goes barefooted, he claims straightway wisdom and courage and virtue, and gives himself great airs, though he may not know his letters, nor, as the saying goes, how to swim. They despise everyone, and call the man of good family effeminate, the low born poor spirited, the handsome man a debauchee, the ugly person simple minded, the rich covetous and the poor greedy" (Dio Cassius, *Historia Romanorum* 65, 13). Lucian wrote: "As soon as I came to Elis, in going up by way of the gymnasium, I overheard a Cynic bawling out the usual street corner invocation to Virtue in a loud harsh voice and abusing every one without exception" (Peregrinus 3).

The Cynics claimed that, as wise men, they formed a class having special privileges; among these privileges was the right to collect contributions from every one, the right to be supported by

the community and the right to express themselves fully to every one at all times. "Being asked what was the most beautiful thing in the world, he (Diogenes) replied, 'Freedom of speech'" (D. L. 6, 69). "See what Diogenes himself says and writes; 'Diogenes, it is in your power to speak both with the king of the Persians and with Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians as you please'" (Epictetus 4, 1, 156). The Cynic freedom of speech is illustrated by a story which Lucian tells of Demonax: "His remark to the proconsul was at once clever and cutting. This man was one of the sort that use pitch to remove hair from their legs and whole bodies. When a Cynic mounted a stone and charged him with this, accusing him of effeminacy, he was angry, had the fellow hauled down and was on the point of confining him in the stocks or even sentencing him to exile. But Demonax, who was passing by, begged him to pardon the man for making bold to speak his mind in the traditional Cynic way. The proconsul said, 'Well I will let him off for you this time, but if he ever dares to do such a thing again, what shall be done to him?' 'Have him depilated' said Demonax" (Demonax 50). Lucian says of Cynics; "They spoil the wine with unwelcome and untimely disquisitions" (The Fisher). Seneca says: "One must not talk to a man unless he is willing to listen. That is why it is often doubted whether Diogenes and the other Cynics, who employed an indiscriminating freedom of speech, ought to have pursued such a plan" (Epist. Mor. 19, 1). The Cynics did not claim freedom of speech as a right common to all men, but as a special privilege belonging to them as members of a social class, ranking above kings and emperors.

The Cynic freedom of speech extended to the character of the language used. Philodemus says of Cynics; "It pleases these dreadful men to adopt the life of dogs and they make open and unrestrained use of all kinds of words" (On the Stoics). Cicero, writing at or near the same time, says: "Neither are we to regard the Cynics, or the Stoics, who are next to the Cynics, who abuse and ridicule us for deeming things that are not shameful in their own nature to become vicious through names and expressions . . . A great many arguments to the same purpose are maintained by



these philosophers in the subversion of delicacy" (*De Officiis* 1, 35). The early Stoics had much in common with the Cynics and Chrysippus was said to have used foul language in his writings (*D. L.* 7, 188). The tragedies attributed to Diogenes were said to have been written in foul language (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 2, 20; Julian 7, 210; *D. L.* 6, 73 & 80; Apuleius, *Apolo-*  
*logia* 9; Plutarch, *Concerning Hearing*).

✓ The Cynic claim to wisdom raised a question as to how they attained it. Dio Chrysostom says that the wise man is "noble by nature" and "does not have to learn" (4, 29-33). Julian said that Cynicism, being a natural philosophy, "demands no special study whatever" (6, 187). Plutarch says: "The wise man, in a moment of time, changes from the lowest possible depravity to an unsurpassable state of virtue . . . The man who was the very worst in the morning becomes the very best at evening . . . He who was a worthless dolt when he fell asleep awakes wise" (*Progress in Virtue* 75). Plutarch ascribes this theory to the Stoics and he is opposing it, but he must have been referring to Cynics, for the Stoics did not class any one as wise, except Socrates and Antisthenes. For the Stoics, the wise man was an ideal, Wisdom was a goal which they might seek but could not attain.

Extreme freedom of speech and foul language seem to have been employed by the Cynics with the object of impressing other men with a consciousness of their hardihood and apathy, and this may explain their expressions of approval of cannibalism (*D. L.* 6, 73; 28th Letter of Diogenes; Dio Chrysostom 8, 14). Cannibalism was said to have been approved of by the Republic and the Thyestes (or Atreus) tragedy attributed to Diogenes (Philodemus, *On the Stoics*). Chrysippus, also, was said to have expressed approval of cannibalism (*D. L.* 7, 121 & 188). There were also accusations that the Cynics actually practiced cannibalism (Philodemus, *On the Stoics*; Theophilus Antiochenus, *Ad Autoly-*  
*cum* 3, 5) but these stories were probably due to prejudice.

The Cynics showed their apathy also in their attitude toward death and suicide. "Diogenes somewhere says that there is only one way to freedom and that is to die content" (Epictetus 4, 1, 29). It is only in death that a man can attain complete apathy.

"Diogenes, being asked who were the noblest men, said, 'Those despising wealth, learning, pleasure and life; esteeming above them poverty, ignorance, hardship and death'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 86, 19; Ibid. 3, 89, 4). An empty, idle and aimless life leads to nothing but boredom and misery; the Cynics may have shown some acknowledgment of this in their mention of suicide as "the open door." Teles says; "A man can readily find release, for just as he leaves an assembly, so he can take his departure from life—as Bion says 'to go out-doors' . . . Just as I depart from a banquet, so I will depart from life . . . I am not overly fond of life and I do not desire to prolong it, but as I am unable to find happiness, I will depart" (Teletis Reliq. p. 16). Athenaeus quoted Antisthenes as saying, "Deliver your selves from life" (4, 157b). Some of the stories of the death of Diogenes represented him as committing suicide (D. L. 6, 76 & 77; Lucian, *Dialogi Mortuorum* 2). Diogenes was said to have advised Speusippus to commit suicide (D. L. 4, 1, 3) and also Antisthenes (D. L. 6, 18).

The Cynics, in seeking freedom, rejected marriage and the rearing of children, repudiated obligations to parents and the state and avoided friendships. Lucian represents a Cynic as saying: "With wife and children and country you will not concern yourself . . . You will live alone in the midst of the city, holding communion with no one, admitting neither friend nor guest, for such would undermine your power" (*Vitarum Auctio* 10). "They (Cynics) consider friends as insincere and faithless, consequently they trust no one" (Philodemus, *On the Stoics*). Tertullian represents a Cynic as saying: "I have withdrawn from the populace. My only business is with myself . . . None is born for another, being destined to die for himself" (*De Pallio* 5).

A discrepancy is noted in the Cynic expressions in regard to pleasure. Crates held that pleasure seeking was a form of slavery and should be avoided. The Cynics retained this idea as a theory but did not always carry it into practice. Lucian represents a Cynic as saying; "My cloak is my lion's skin. Like Hercules I live in a state of warfare and my enemy is pleasure" (*Vitarum Auctio* 10). Lucian says also; "To hear them, you would say that they (Cynics) were at war with pleasure, and Epicurus their bitterest

foe; but nothing do they do but for pleasure's sake" (The Runaways 19). Dio Chrysostom represents Diogenes as saying: "The noble man holds his hardships to be great antagonists . . . grappling with hunger and cold, withstanding thirst and disclosing no weakness, even though he must endure the lash or give his body to be cut or burned . . . But there is another battle more terrible . . . and fraught with greater danger. I mean the fight against pleasure" (8, 20). Also, he says: "Many and mighty antagonists have I vanquished . . . I mean poverty, exile and disrepute, yes, anger, desire, fear and the most redoubtable beast of all, treacherous and cowardly. I mean pleasure" (9, 12).

But the idea gained prevalence that pleasures were to be found in the Cynic form of life and this probably facilitated acquiring converts. Dio Chrysostom expresses this view with equal enthusiasm: "He (Diogenes) got more pleasure, too, out of sunning himself and more pleasure in eating his food than (the rich) did. But the seasons were his greatest delight . . . And so he used to partake of a barley cake with greater pleasure than others did of the costliest foods and enjoyed a drink from a stream more than others did their Thasian wine" (6, 8-12). "This very man (Diogenes) used to maintain how much he surpassed the Persian king in his manner of life and fortune, for he himself was in want of nothing, while the other never had enough, and that he had no inclination for those pleasures of which the other could never get enough to satisfy himself, and that the other could never obtain his" (Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 5, 32). Maximus Tyrius wrote: "Pleasure led Diogenes into his earthen ware jar. And if virtue accompanied him why should pleasure be excluded? Diogenes enjoyed life in his jar as Xerxes enjoyed Babylon . . . If you compare pleasures with pleasures, those of Diogenes are greater. The lives of others were filled with pleasures, but were everywhere mingled with grief. But the pleasures of Diogenes were free from lamentations, wailing, tears or grief . . . I will make bold to say that no one was ever more truly a lover of pleasure than Diogenes" (3, 9).

The Cynics did not deny the existence of the gods; neither did they affirm any belief in their existence or express any reverence

for them. They were skeptics or agnostics. "Diogenes the Cynic used to say of Harpalus, one of the most fortunate villains of his time, that the constant prosperity of such a man was a kind of witness against the gods" (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3, 34). "Proofs are not wanting that among the philosophers there was not only ignorance but actual doubt about the divinity. Diogenes, when asked what was taking place in heaven, answered, 'I have never been there.' Again, asked whether there were any gods, he replied, 'I do not know, only there ought to be gods'" (Tertullian, *Ad Nationes* 2). Diogenes was represented as writing: "You ask me to write you what I know about death and burial . . . I hold that it is sufficient to live according to virtue and nature and that is in our power. As the things before birth are withheld by nature, so the things after death must be trusted to it" (25th Letter). Diogenes was said to have rejected the Orphic initiation (D. L. 6, 39; Julian 7, 238; Plutarch, *Moralia* 2, p. 58); to have denounced certain religious practices (D. L. 6, 42-43); to have condemned the practice of consulting oracles (Dio Chrysostom 10, 17-27) and to have seen no impropriety in stealing anything from a temple (D. L. 6, 73). Julian says that Diogenes did not visit temples or worship statues or altars (6, 199). He was represented as using temples only as dormitories (D. L. 6, 22; Dio Chrysostom 4, 13).

The Cynics were not Socratics; their teaching was opposed to that of Socrates in almost every respect. The distinction between right and wrong did not enter into Cynicism. It was the problem of the Cynic to seek happiness and freedom and the avoidance of what was wrong would restrict his freedom. The Stoics claimed succession from Socrates but we have no evidence that the Cynics did so.

Most of the ideas of the Cynics were not new in Greece but they seem to have made their appearance as a sect in the 2nd century B. C. Teles, writing about 240 B. C. shows no knowledge of the existence of a Cynic sect. Hippobotus, listing the Greek schools of ethics about 200 B. C., did not include the Cynics (D. L. 1, 19). The earliest mentions of them are those of Cicero and Philodemus, written in the early part of the 1st century B. C.



The Letters of Diogenes and Crates are believed to have been written at about the same time. These writings all convey the impression that the Cynics formed a numerous and well known sect. Philo Judaeus, writing about the beginning of the Christian Era, speaks of the Cynics as "an incalculable number of men" (*Quod omnis probus liber sit*). Dio Chrysostom, writing to the Alexandrians near the end of the 1st century A. D., says; "There are in the city a great number of those who are called Cynics" (32, 62). Lucian wrote; "The city swarms with these vermin, particularly with those who profess the tenets of Diogenes, Antisthenes and Crates" (*The Runaways* 19). Eusebius Pamphili speaks of "Diogenes the Dog, who held the most brutish opinions and was the leader of many" (*Praep. Evang.* 15, 13, 6). The Cynics continued to be numerous for two or three centuries.

The Cynics died out and disappeared in the fifth century A. D. St. Augustine, writing in the early part of the 5th century, says: "It is this which those canine or Cynic philosophers have overlooked when they have, in violation of the modest instincts of men, boastfully proclaimed their unclean and shameless opinion, worthy indeed of dogs, viz, that as the matrimonial act is legitimate, no one should be ashamed to perform it openly, in the street or in any public place. Instinctive shame has overborne this wild fancy. For though it is related that Diogenes once dared to put his opinion in practice, under the impression that his sect would be all the more famous if his egregious shamelessness was deeply graven in the memory of mankind, yet this example was not afterwards followed. Shame had more influence with them, to make them blush before men, than error to make them affect a resemblance to dogs, and possibly, even in the case of Diogenes and those who did imitate him, there was but an appearance and pretense of copulation and not the reality. Even at this day there are still Cynic philosophers to be seen; for these are Cynics who are not content with being clad in the Cynic cloak, but also carry a club; yet no one of them dares to do this that we speak of. If they did, they would be spat upon, not to say stoned by the mob" (*De Civitate Dei*, 14, 20). We may infer from this that Cynics were scarce in the time of Augustine and that they had

discontinued their open defiance of public opinion for a long period. St. John Chrysostom, a contemporary of Augustine, wrote; "The Cynics, mere pollutions as they were, have all passed by like a dream and a shadow" (Homilies 33, 5).

The Cynics had no canon or authoritative writing, such as the Epicureans had in the writings of Epicurus. They were illiterates and wrote nothing. Julian said; "If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purposes . . . it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by them . . . but nothing of that sort exists" (6, 186). Our knowledge of them is derived from observers who were not Cynics; but these were not all antagonistic. The Stoics regarded their origin as connected with that of the Cynics and were inclined to take a favorable view of them. The Letters of Diogenes and Crates were probably written by Stoics who endeavored to present Cynicism in a favorable light. Lucian in his *Cynicus*, Tertullian in his *De Pallio* and Maximus Tyrius in his 36th Dissertation presented the Cynic point of view, though they were not Cynics. Dio Chrysostom showed interest in traditions of Diogenes and gave considerable space to them; but he expressed scorn for the Cynics of his time, as Epictetus and Julian also did. Epictetus and Julian believed that earlier Cynics were superior and must have had a different philosophy; they exerted their imaginations to supply this philosophy. Their belief may be partially explained by the fact that the earlier men whom they had in mind were not Cynics. Cynicism was a philosophy which took form after their time.

The Cynic traditions were oral and consisted for the most part of stories of Diogenes, a semi-mythical character; since little was known about him, he was a convenient vehicle on which the Cynics could locate stories expressing their ideas. It is believed that there were a vast number of these stories and that only a small proportion of them has been preserved. Some of these stories express ideas incompatible with Cynicism and show that non-Cynics sometimes took a hand in producing Diogenes stories.

Zeller says: "With the decline of political independence the mental powers of the nation (Greece) received a fatal blow. No longer knit together by a powerful esprit de corps, the Greeks lost



the habit of working for the common weal and for the most part gave themselves up to the petty interests of home life and their own personal troubles " (Stoics, Epicureans and Skeptics p. 16). The loss of independent sovereignty by the Greek states, first to the Macedonians and later to the Romans, was followed by a period of intellectual, cultural and spiritual degeneration. The practice became general of exposing children and not rearing any descendants, or, at most, only one son. Cynicism was a product of this period.

The Cynics attacked and ridiculed religion, philosophy, science, art, literature, love, friendship, good manners, loyalty to parents and the state and even athletics,—everything which tended to embellish and enrich human life, to give it significance and make it worth living. The callous amorality expressed by the word "cynicism" reflects the impression made by them upon their contemporaries.

The Cynics did much to prepare the way for Christianity by destroying respect for existing religions, by ignoring distinctions of race and nationality and by instituting an order of wandering preachers claiming exceptional freedom of speech. Tertullian says that early Christian preachers adopted the Cynic cloak (De Pallio 6), and Augustine mentioned the club or staff as the only distinctive feature of the Cynics (De Civitate Dei 14, 20). Julian mentioned the similarity of methods of the Cynics and the Christians in their public discourses and their collections of contributions (7, 224). Lucian describes cooperation between Cynics and Christians (Peregrinus). The early Christians worked side by side with Cynics for three hundred years and were to some extent influenced by them. We do not know of any early Christian arts, music, literature or sciences. Early Christian orders of priesthood accepted celibacy and poverty as virtues. The Dominicans explained their designation by saying that they were "Domini canes" (dogs of the Lord).

## THE SOURCES OF CYNICISM

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Julian says of Cynicism: "Now the founder of this philosophy to whom we are to attribute it in the first instance is not easy to discover even though some think the title belongs to Antisthenes and Diogenes. At least the saying of Oenomaus seems to be not without good grounds, 'The Cynic philosophy is neither Antisthenean nor Diogenean'" (6, 187). Julian agreed with Oenomaus that neither Antisthenes nor Diogenes were the founders of Cynicism. Oenomaus was a Greek writer of the 2nd century A. D. He wrote a treatise "On Cynicism" and another "On Crates and Diogenes." He seems to have been the leading authority on Cynicism in the time of Julian. Both he and Julian possessed better means of information than we have and their opinions on this subject are probably well founded. The 19th Letter of Crates is addressed to a Cynic who claimed that the Cynic sect was founded by Ulysses; the Letter argues that Diogenes and not Ulysses should be regarded as its founder. This Letter indicates that in the 1st century B. C. there was no definite and generally understood information in regard to its founding.

Hercules also was sometimes spoken of as the founder of Cynicism. "'I am the first discoverer of the Cynic rule.' 'How can that be? Men say Alcides (Hercules) long preceded thee.' 'Once I was second with Alcides for my master; now I am the first Cynic and he a god'" (Ausonius, Epigram 46, written under a portrait of Antisthenes). "None had a better pupil or a better master in virtue and the Cynic lore. He knows that I speak truth who knows each of the two. Alcides the god and Diogenes the Dog" (Ibid. Epigram 47, on the same). There seems to have been a tendency to ascribe to Cynicism an earlier origin than it actually possessed. (Cf. Julian 6, 187; 7th & 26th Letters of Diogenes; Lucian, *Vitarum Auctio* 10; Ibid. Peregrinus; D. L. 6, 71).

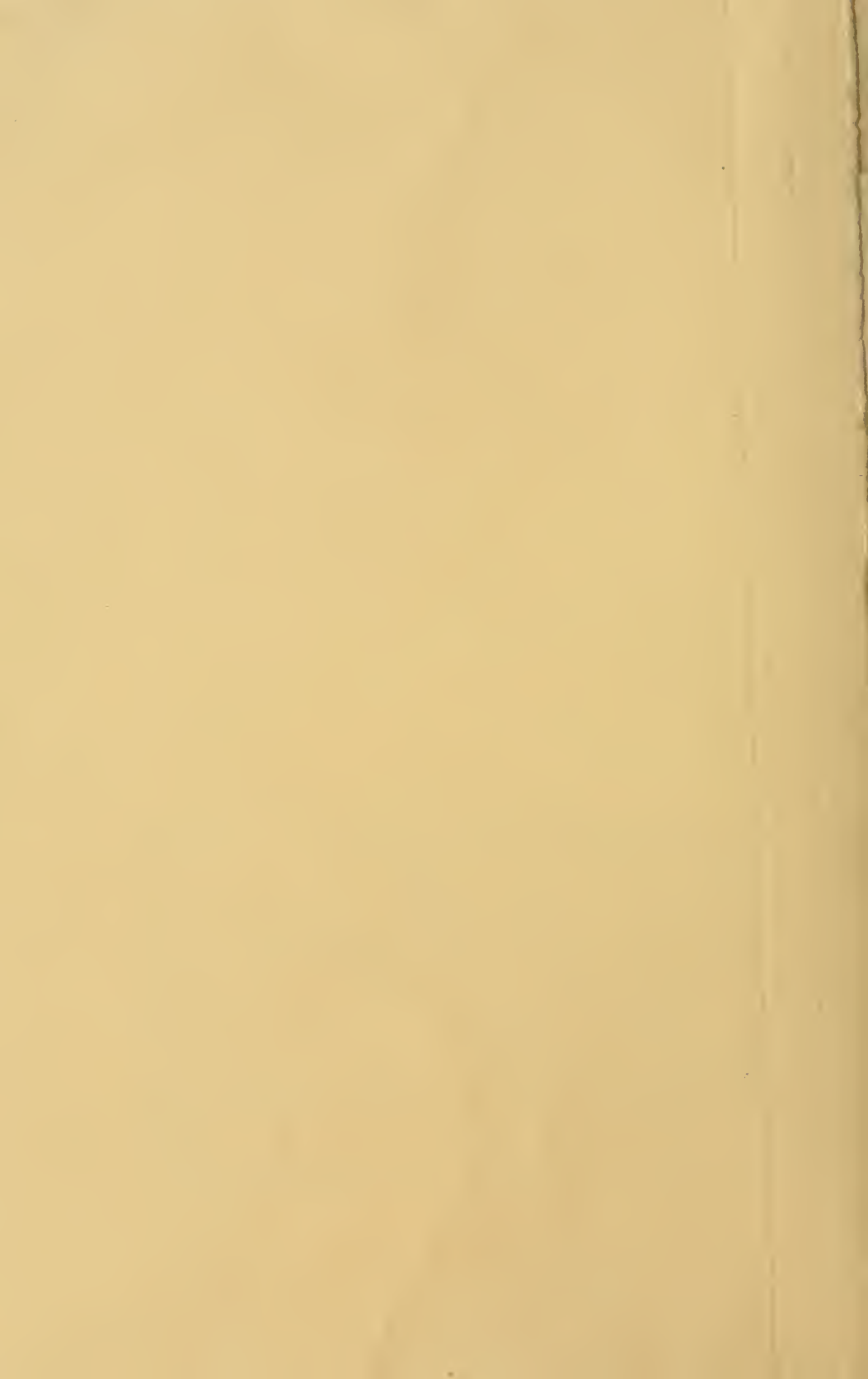
Teles narrated some stories of Diogenes, but it is clear that he

## ADDENDA

Add to p. 28:—

The ancient Greeks generally accepted the theory of degeneration, a belief that we are inferior to our ancestors. Homer tells of a hero who "lifted up a stone, a mighty weight, which no two men, as men are now, could raise, yet easily he wielded it." (*Iliad*, Book XX, 358). Plato says that animals are probably the descendants of degenerate men (*Timaeus* 91-92). This is the modern theory of evolution in reverse.

The Cynics made their appearance as a sect in the second century B.C. Their late appearance was a disadvantage for the sect was founded by recent and consequently inferior men. This led them to silence in regard to their real founders and to claim ancient heroes as their progenitors. Since Diogenes had become a hero he also was accepted by some as a founder. The claim that Antisthenes was the founder of Cynicism was Stoic and was not generally accepted by Cynics.



did not regard him as a founder or teacher of any definite philosophy. His authorities are Bion and Crates; he does not mention Antisthenes and this indicates that Antisthenes was not connected with Cynicism. In the time of Antisthenes and Diogenes the Greeks were loyal to their state governments; a group openly advocating disregard of state laws would not have been tolerated.

Some of the ideas of the Cynics appeared in Greek literature at an early period. Lucian says that Demonax called Thersites a "mob orator of the Cynic type" (Demonax 61). Indifference as to the disposition of the body after death was expressed by Heraclitus (Frag. 85), a trait afterwards attributed to Diogenes. Xenophanes expressed disapproval of mythology and excessive interest in athletic contests, as the Cynics did later. Hesiod commended the simple and natural lives of the early races (*Works and Days*). Anti-intellectualism was common in Greece and is depicted in the character of Anytus in the *Meno* of Plato and in Strepsiades in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes.

The immediate predecessors of the Cynics were the mendicant itinerant Orphic teachers (Plato, *Republic* 2, 264). As the influence of Orphism waned, the teachers of a happy future life were replaced by philosophers who taught a way to happiness in the present life. There were also the mendicant priests of Cybele, mentioned in the 11th Letter of Diogenes as rivals of the Cynics.

We learn from Isocrates, a contemporary of Plato, that there were in Athens sophists who resembled the later Cynics. He says: "The teachers who do not scruple to vaunt their powers with utter disregard of the truth have created the impression that those who choose a life of careless indifference are better advised than those who devote themselves to serious study . . . Although they say that they do not want money and speak contemptuously of wealth as filthy lucre, they hold their hands out for a trifling gain and make their disciples all but immortal" (*Against the Sophists* 14). These sophists were teaching idleness, poverty and probably anti-intellectualism.

Plato represented Hippias as saying: "All of you who are here present I reckon to be kinsmen and friends and fellow-citizens, by nature and not by law, for by nature like is akin to like, whereas

law is the tyrant of mankind and often compels us to do many things which are against nature" (Protagoras 337). Here we find "follow nature" and opposition to man made law.

In the comedy of Aristophanes entitled "The Clouds," he introduces an Athenian, Strepsiades, who has his son, Phidippides, instructed by a sophist and the result is unsatisfactory to Strepsiades, for he is beaten by his educated son.

"*Strepsiades*. But the law nowhere admits that fathers should be treated thus.

*Phidippides*. Was not the legislator who carried this law a man like you and me? Then why should I not have the right to establish for the future a new law, allowing children to beat their fathers? . . . But look how the cocks and other animals fight with their fathers and yet what difference is there between them and ourselves, unless it be that they do not propose decrees?

*Strepsiades*. But if you imitate the cocks in all things, why don't you scratch up the dunghill, why don't you sleep on a perch?" (Clouds 1420). Here we find an argument which was used by the Cynics, that since laws are made by men no wiser than ourselves they are not worthy of respect. We find also the idea of following nature by imitating animals. The tendency of this comedy is anti-intellectual and since it loads all the sophistries satirized on Socrates, it may have prejudiced the Athenians against him.

Thucydides represented Pericles, in his funeral oration to the Athenians, as saying; "Emulate them (the dead heroes) and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not shrink from the dangers of war" (2, 43, 4). Here Pericles stated the fundamental theory of Cynicism—that freedom is happiness and that freedom can be attained by doing away with fear.

Xenophon describes Socrates as taking Aristippus to task on account of his habits and Aristippus as replying: "I do not for a moment put myself in the category of those who want to be rulers. For, considering how hard a matter it is to provide for one's own needs, I think it absurd not to be content to do that, but to shoulder the burden of supplying the wants of the community as well . . . Myself I classify with those who wish for a life of the greatest ease and pleasure that can be had . . . I am no candidate for



slavery, but there is, as I hold, a middle path in which I am fain to walk. That way leads neither through rule nor slavery, but through freedom, which is the best road to happiness . . . I do not shut myself up in the four corners of a community, but am a stranger in every land" (Mem. Soc. 2, 1, 8-13). Here again we find the fundamental principle of Cynicism—that freedom is the best road to happiness. Aristippus was said to have been an exile: "Aristippus, being reviled by some one because, being a Cyrenean, he had been banished from his country, said, 'Young man, my country gave me great pleasure when they sent me from Libya to Hellas'" (Gnomologium Vaticanum 28). His attitude toward all governments and all countries was like that of the Cynics and his conception of freedom included freedom to roam where he pleased. Since Socrates disapproved both of his conduct and his opinions, there is no reason for regarding him as a Socratic and, since he disregarded the Socratic rule against taking fees for his teaching (D. L. 2, 65), he does not appear to have regarded himself as a Socratic. Aristotle called him a sophist and says that he scorned mathematics (Metaphysics 3, 2, 996a 33). The philosophy which he taught, Cyrenaicism, included amoralism, which was also included in Cynicism. The Cyrenaics sought an easy life and pleasure. Some of the Cynics professed to live a life of hardship and to reject pleasure but the majority of them seem to have followed the Cyrenaics in these respects. Many of the stories of Aristippus were transferred to Diogenes in the development of the Diogenes Legend (A. Packmohr, *De Diogenis Sinopensis Apophthegmatis Quaestiones Selectae*), and this shows a connection between Aristippus and the Cynics.

Crates of Thebes was not a Cynic. There was no Cynic sect in existence in his time. He was a well-known and respected citizen of Thebes, a religious and well educated man; he married and reared children; he approved of labor and education and did not oppose laws or governments; he did not profess to be a wise man and he devoted his time to aiding, advising and comforting other men. And yet, there are reasons for regarding him as the chief source of Cynicism. He developed the idea that happiness was to be found in freedom and that freedom could be attained through poverty

and the extinction of desires. In pursuance of this idea he abandoned a comfortable home and considerable property, migrated to Athens and took up the life of a mendicant teacher. His teaching was the foundation of both Stoicism and Cynicism, but both subsequently received accretions and underwent modifications.

Crates was a pupil of Bryson the Achaean (D. L. 6, 85), whose opinions are not known to us. His poems show a knowledge of versification and his paraphrases of Homer and Solon show familiarity with Greek literature. Teles says that he was familiar with the *Protreptikos* of Aristotle (*Teletis Reliquiae* p. 46). There are several accounts of his taking up the life of a mendicant, but that of Plutarch seems to be the most credible. Plutarch wrote a biography of Crates (Julian 6, 200B); he probably consulted the best sources of information in regard to him. He says: "Crates, the Theban philosopher, owing nothing and consequently not being pressed by a creditor but only tired with the cares and troubles of house-keeping and the solicitude requisite to the management of his estate, left a patrimony of eight talents value and, taking only his cloak and wallet, retired to philosophy and poverty" (*Against Running in Debt* 8). Teles described him as conducting a school in Athens (*Teletis Reliquiae* pp. 40-41). Among his pupils were Zeno (D. L. 7, 2-5), Cleanthes (Hesychius 42; Suidas, Cleanthes) and Bion of Borysthenes (D. L. 4, 23 & 51). He seems to have been widely known for Plutarch wrote; "Will you reduce a man from splendid wealth and house and table and lavish living to a thread bare cloak and wallet and begging of his daily bread? These things were the beginning of happiness for Diogenes, of freedom and reputation for Crates" (*Can Vice Cause Unhappiness* 499). Plutarch and Teles compare Crates and Diogenes in their way of life but do not connect them otherwise; they do not represent them as associated with one another. Crates was an original and independent philosopher, not belonging to any sect or school and there are reasons for regarding him as the father of both Stoicism and Cynicism. These two philosophies were generally believed to have had a common origin and early Stoics expressed many Cynic ideas.

✓ The dominant idea of Crates was the quest of freedom; while

others believed that happiness could be found in the gratification of desires, Crates taught that happiness could be found only in the extinction or control of desires. The form of freedom which he emphasized was spiritual, a freedom of the will gained through self-control. This was accepted by the Stoics and is explained by Epictetus (4, 1 & 7). Teles advises his reader not to have his son taught to make money, "But send him to Crates, he is able to render him free and devoid of desires and luxury." Teles mentions the Academy and the Lyceum as encouraging or permitting luxury, "But in going over to Crates there are none of these things. Having become more simple in his manner of living, he is contented with a worn cloak and barley bread and herbs, he does not yearn for his former life and is not discontented with his present one" (Teletis Reliquiae p. 40-41). Teles did not regard Crates as a Socratic; he was conducting a separate school, in some respects opposed to the Academy and Lyceum. Teles narrates: "Crates said to one asking, 'What benefit will it be to me to be a philosopher?' 'You will be able to release your possessions easily and give with a free hand . . . A person not having money does not yearn for it but will live contented with present circumstances.'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31). This idea of Crates is expressed by a saying attributed to Bion; "Good slaves are free, but evil men are slaves, desiring many things" (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 39 & 69, 42). Since Bion was a pupil of Crates, this saying may have come from Crates.

Crates condemned pleasure because he thought that pleasure seeking was a form of slavery. "Self-control, restraining pleasures with definite limits, preserves houses and also cities, according to the opinion of Crates" (Stobaeus, Flor. 5, 63). "Shun not only the complete of the evils, i. e. injustice and lack of self control, but also that which may cause them, i. e. pleasures . . . and seek not only the complete of the goods, i. e. self control and endurance, but also that which produces them, i. e. hardship" (15th Letter of Crates). "Pleasure is not happiness" (3rd Letter of Crates). The Letters of Crates, though spurious, seem to have been based on traditions, for the contents of some of them can be found in other sources. Crates wrote:

“ Those unenslaved and unbended by servile pleasure  
Love the immortal kingdom and freedom ”

(Clemens Alex., *Strom.* 2, 20, 121; Theodoretus, Theophrast, 12, 172, 50).

He regarded love as a menace to freedom, from which we should free ourselves at any cost:

“ Hunger stops love, if not, time;  
If these do not quench the flame,  
The treatment that remains for you  
Is hanging ”

(Anthol. Palat. 9, 417; D. L. 6, 86; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 2, 121; Julian 6, 198D; Suidas, Crates).

Crates' rejection of desires, pleasures and love were negative, an expression of apathy; he might have taught his pupils to seek desirable pleasure in useful and helpful employment. However, he is said to have approved of labor when requisite for obtaining necessities (Plutarch, *Against Running in Debt* 7; 4th Letter of Crates). We cannot regard Crates' attitude toward pleasure as original with him, for Plato mentions a class of persons who held views practically identical with those expressed by Crates (*Philebus* 44).

The poems of Crates show a religious spirit; in this respect the Stoics followed him and the Cynics did not. The Stoics rejected the Greek mythology but they believed in one God and in divine providence (Cicero, *De-Natura Deorum* 2). Crates wrote:

“ Not one tower hath my country, nor one roof,  
But wide as the whole earth its citadel,  
And home prepared for us to dwell therein ”

(D. L. 6, 98).

This is an expression of the Cynic idea of freedom to wander from country to country, doing away with loyalty to any one state. Both the Stoics and the Cynics disregarded distinctions of race and nationality.

Crates is also identified with the Cynic idea of disregard for public opinion; he is said to have given instruction on this subject



to Metrocles (D. L. 6, 94) and also to Zeno (D. L. 7, 3). This idea is expressed in the 16th Letter of Crates. The story of the dog wedding of Crates (Apuleius, *Flor.* 14; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* 4, 19; Tatian, *Address to the Greeks*; Suidas, Crates) may have been a late invention, for we find no early mention of it, but it shows that Crates was associated with the idea of defiance of public opinion. Crates' disregard of public opinion was rejected by Zeno (D. L. 7, 3) and by the Stoics.

Crates was said to have taught avoidance of politics (D. L. 2, 131); in this respect he was followed by the Cynics but not by the Stoics. The dominant idea of Crates was the quest of freedom but he realized that it was limited by his dependence upon food; it was his chief wish that he might be freed from this also. He wrote:

"Glorious Children of Memory and Olympian Zeus,  
Ye Muses of Pieria, harken to my prayer.  
Give me without ceasing victuals for my belly,  
Which has always made my life frugal and free from  
pleasure" (Julian 6, 199 D).

"The Cynic Crates, as Sosicrates says in his *Phalerum*, castigated Demetrius of Phalerum because he had sent him a flask of wine with his wallet of bread; said he 'Would that the springs might produce bread as well as water'" (Athenaeus, *Deip.* 10, 422; D. L. 6, 90).

Crates was an independent teacher, not belonging to any existing sect. His disregard of the state and of public opinion led to an extreme individualism which was directly opposed to the teachings of Plato and Aristotle. His attitude toward pleasure was opposed to Cyrenaicism and Epicureanism and was not in accord with the teaching of Plato and Aristotle, for they regarded pleasure as a contribution to happiness. The followers of Crates split into two different classes which progressed by divergent paths. Those who were called Stoics absorbed a great deal of Platonism from the teaching of the early Academy (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 12; *Ibid.*, *De Finibus* 5, 29; D. L. 7, 2 & 25). This Platonism was the basis of their subsequent claim to be Socratics, but, in the

meantime, they developed hostility to the Academy and were unwilling to acknowledge their indebtedness to it. They invented a story of a direct succession from Socrates through Antisthenes, but if this had been true the Cynics would have been Socratics also on account of their common origin. The Cynics were not Socratics; they received influences from other sources; notably from Bion of Borysthenes. Early stories of Bion were transferred to Diogenes in the development of the Diogenes Legend (A. Packmohr) and this shows a connection between Bion and the Cynics. From Bion the Cynics probably received amorality, apathy, indifference and the rejection of education and marriage, but some of his reported sayings are incompatible with Cynicism and he cannot be classified as a Cynic. Bion was an atheist, the Cynics were agnostics; they may have been influenced in this respect by Pyrrho or they may have followed the sophist Protagoras who is reported to have said; "Of the gods I can know nothing, neither that they are nor that they are not" (D. L. 9, 51; Plato, *Theaetetus* 162D). The sophists Critias, Polus, Callicles, Thrasy-machus and Diagoras are said to have attacked morality and religion (Zeller, *Hist. Greek Philos.* 2, p. 512).

The idea that poverty and plain living were commendable was not peculiar to the Cynics. The popularity of Aristides the Just and of Phocion the Honest was to a considerable extent based on the belief that they were poor and lived plainly, and it is clear that Xenophon regarded this as a strong point in his defense of Socrates (*Memorabilia* 1, 6).

The Cynics had a distinctive costume and equipment and our most credible information in regard to its origin seems to be the following: "Diodorus was an Aspendian by birth, and though he was reputed to be a Pythagorean, he lived in the manner of you Cynics, wearing his hair long and going dirty and bare footed. Hence some have even thought that this habit of wearing hair was Pythagorean and was promulgated by Diodorus as Hermippus says. And Timaeus of Tauromenia, in the ninth book of his *Histories*, writes about him thus, 'Diodorus, the Aspendian by birth, introduced the eccentric mode of life'" (Athenaeus, *Deip.* 4, 164). Hermippus of Smyrna was a Peripatetic who wrote at



Alexandria about the middle of the 3rd century B. C. Timaeus of Tauromenia flourished about 260 B. C. Also we find: "And he (Antisthenes) was the first, Diocles tells us, to double his cloak and to be content with that one garment and to take up a staff and wallet . . . Sosicrates, however, in the third book of his Successions of Philosophers says this was first done by Diodorus of Aspendus, who also let his beard grow and used a staff and a wallet" (D. L. 6, 13 & 22). Here Diogenes Laertius discredits Diocles in favor of an earlier writer. Diocles was a writer of the first century B. C. who seems to have been one of the builders of the Diogenes Legend. He does not state the source of his information and his statements in regard to Diogenes and Antisthenes have the appearance of inventions. Antisthenes, Diogenes and Crates were described by the Cynics as doubling their cloaks (D. L. 6, 13; 30th Letter of Diogenes; Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31; Tertullian, De Pallio 5). But there seems to be nothing distinctive or exceptional about this. Strepsiades, in Aristophanes' comedy "The Clouds," when he sees the clouds coming on the stage, says; "Not yet, wait a bit till I fold my cloak double so as not to get wet." We infer from this that it was customary to fold the cloak double for protection from rain and cold. The cloak which was doubled was the ample Athenian ἱμάτιον. But the Cynics adopted a distinctive cloak, called τρίβων, τριβώνιον or στολή (Latin, pallium). "The Spartans wore a short mantle of coarse texture called τρίβων or τριβώνιον. Those who aped Spartan customs, the Λακωνίζοντες and the philosophers of the Cynic and Stoic schools naturally adopted it also" (Becker, Charicles, p. 419; cf. Thucydides 1, 6; Plato, Protagoras 342). The Stoics did not adopt a distinctive costume; Apuleius says; "Do you censure philosophers for their wallet and staff . . . These, however, are not the equipment of the Platonic sect, but they are the insignia of the class of Cynics" (Apologia 22). Lucian in the Hermotimus described Stoics as decently dressed and groomed and differing from the "utter repulsive negligence of the Cynics." τρίβων means worn and the Cynic cloak is described as threadbare, ragged and dirty. It would appear that when a Cynic procured a cloak he selected one in this condition. The costume adopted by the Cynics seems to have been

that of a Greek beggar, for the Cynics recognized the disguise of Ulysses on his return to Ithaca and also that of Telephus as akin to their own.

But why did the Cynics adopt a distinctive costume? It seems to have been connected with their claim of forming a distinct class of wise men having special privileges. It was this claim which put Cynicism on its feet and made the Cynics numerous and important and distinct from the Stoics. The Greeks had a love of oratory and rhetoric, the art of public speaking, was their favorite study. The prospect of being privileged to deliver public discourses probably attracted many converts. "The most ignorant of the rhetoricians . . . all rush into Cynicism" (Julian 7, 225). Most of the ideas of Cynicism came from Greek sources but it is probable that the idea of a separate class of wise men came from India. It was contrary to Greek traditions for any one to claim to be a wise man, as is shown by the stories of the tripod and the bowl (D. L. 1, 28-33). Pythagoras was quoted as saying, "No man is wise but God alone" (D. L. 1. 12). The oracle of Delphi said that no man was wiser than Socrates but he disclaimed being wise. He said; "In this respect only I believe myself to differ from men in general, and may perhaps claim to be wiser than they are; that whereas I know but little of the world below, I do not suppose that I know" (Plato, *Apology* 29). Socrates said of certain other teachers; "Wise I may not call them, for that is a great name which belongs to God alone; lovers of wisdom or philosophers is their modest and befitting title" (Plato, *Phaedrus* 278). The Stoics discussed the conduct of an ideal wise man but Cicero says that no Stoic professed to be wise (*De Oratore* 3, 18).

The Greeks were familiar with paid teachers who performed specific services and received specified compensation but, before the appearance of the Cynics, there was no class of "wise men" who expected to be supported by the community without regard to their services. The Cynic point of view is expressed by the following: "Being short of money, he (Diogenes) told his friends that he applied to them, not for alms, but for payment of his due" (D. L. 6, 46). "He (Diogenes) used also to reason thus; all things belong to the gods; the wise are friends of the

gods and friends hold things in common; therefore all things belong to the wise " (D. L. 6, 37 & 82; 10th Letter of Diogenes; 26th & 27th Letters of Crates).

The Cynics did not accept Platonism but were influenced by many sources which did not affect the Stoics,—including Pyrrho, Bion, Diodorus of Aspendus, some of the Greek sophists, by Indian Gymnosophists and probably others of whom we have no record.

Diogenes was from Sinope, an ancient Milesian colony on the south shore of the Euxine Sea, the most prosperous of the numerous colonies established from Miletus. It was the terminus of a caravan route from Babylon and was situated on an ancient trade route from India. "Aristobulus says that the Oxus is the greatest of the rivers of Asia, excepting those in India. He says that it is navigable (both he and Eratosthenes take this from Patrocles) and that much Indian merchandise is carried upon it to the Caspian Sea; thence it is transported to Albania and by the Cyrus River and places beyond to the Euxine Sea" (Strabo 2, 7, 3). Strabo commends Patrocles as especially worthy of confidence (12, 1, 2). Aristobulus was a companion of Alexander in his invasion of India. Eratosthenes was in charge of the Alexandrian Library in the 3rd century B. C.; he was a noted mathematician, astronomer and geographer. Pliny says that the Euxine Sea served as a route for commerce between India and Greece; quoting from Varro, he says that Pompey, when prosecuting the war against Mithredates, discovered this ancient trade route (*Naturalia Historiae* 6, 17, 19). Information of this traffic has also been obtained from ancient Indian writings (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. 2, pp. 212-213; cf. *Ancient Sinope*, David M. Robinson, p. 137 f.). Ctesias said that there was commerce between the Persians and the Indians; he was an Ionian Greek physician at the court of Artaxerxes during the latter part of the 5th century B. C. (Strabo 14, 656; cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1, 6, 27). Ctesias wrote a history of Persia and a treatise on India, a condensation of which was written by Photius (*Ctesiae Cnidii Operum Reliquiae*, J. C. F. Baehr, p. 245).

Diogenes was said to be the son of a money changer in Sinope, which was the most important city on the route between Greece and India and was probably a distributing point of Indian merchandise. Travelers and merchants from India probably required the services of a money changer and Diogenes may have obtained information from them in regard to Indian customs and ideas. Diogenes was believed to have brought new ideas to Greece, for this is the meaning of "changing the currency," in the sense of changing moral standards, which was attributed to him (D. L. 6, 20 & 71; Julian 6, 188).

But, apart from Diogenes, the Greeks had ample information of India and the Indians at an early period. Aeschylus mentioned the people of India in *The Suppliants* (284-286). The Greeks were familiar with the idea that there were other civilizations older than theirs and that philosophy came to them from people whom they classed as barbarians (*Quid Graeci de Origine Philosophiae a Barbaris Ducenda Existimaverunt*, F. Schaefer). Lucian describes a personified Philosophy as saying; "My first flight was not directed toward Greece . . . First, I went to the Indians, the mightiest nation on earth. The Brahmans . . . are mine to a man" (*The Runaways* 6). Apuleius repeats a tradition that Pythagoras visited India and obtained from the Brahmans the greater part of his philosophy (*Florida* 15), and what we know of Pythagoras tends to support this tradition. D. L. says of Democritus; "Some say that he associated with the Gymnosophists of India" (9, 35), and Aelian says; "Democritus went to the Chaldaeans in Babylon and to the Magi and to the sophists of the Indians" (*Var. Hist.* 4, 20). Eudocia quoted Demetrius and Antisthenes as saying that Democritus conversed with Gymnosophists in India (*Violarium* 419, p. 154). This probably refers to Demetrius of Magnesia and Antisthenes of Rhodes. D. L. in his discussion of the origins of Greek philosophy mentions the Indian Gymnosophists and their teachings and quotes Clitarchus as his authority (1, 6). Clitarchus is said to have flourished about 300 B. C. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 10, 70; *Quellenkunde der Griechischen Geschichte*, A. Schaefer, p. 67). The Greek god Dionysius (Bacchus) was said to have come from India or to have visited



India; he has been identified by scholars with the Hindu god Shiva. Pyrrho was said to have traveled in India and to have obtained from Indians the ideas of skepticism, suspension of judgment and indifference (D. L. 9, 61-68); these ideas were adopted by the Cynics and they have been traced to Hindu sources (Brochard, *Les Sceptiques Grecs*, p. 71 f.). Aristoxenus tells of a conversation between Socrates and an Indian. The Indian asks what was the subject of his teaching and Socrates replies that it is human life; the Indian rejoins that it is impossible for any one to understand things human if he is ignorant of divine things (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1, 3). Aristoxenus was a disciple of Aristotle and his father, Spintheus, is said to have associated with Socrates. This story indicates that Indians sometimes visited Athens. Herodotus devoted considerable space to his descriptions of India. Megasthenes spent many years in India in the early part of the 3rd century B. C. and wrote a work called *Indica* which was quoted by Strabo, Arrian and Aelian. Clemens Alexandrinus says of him; "The author Megasthenes, the contemporary of Seleucus Nicanor, writes as follows in the third of his books on Indian affairs, 'All that was said about nature by the ancients is said also by those philosophers beyond Greece, some things by the Brahmans among the Indians and others by those called Jews in Syria'" (Strom. 1, 15).

Arrian says: "The Indians generally are divided into seven castes. Those called the wise men are less in number than the rest, but chiefest in honor and regard. For they are under no necessity to do any bodily labor or to contribute from the results of their work to the common store, in fact, no sort of restraint whatever rests upon these wise men" (*Indica* 8, 11). "There is also among them (Indians) a pre-eminent class called Gymnosophists . . . They are men skilled not in propagating the vine, nor in grafting trees, nor in tilling the ground . . . They cultivate wisdom . . . One relates that, having been chosen arbitrator between two, he has allayed their quarrel, restored good will, cleared up suspicion and changed them from enemies to friends. Another that he has found out something by his own reflection or from another's teaching" (Apuleius, *Florida* 6). We find in these two

passages mentions of a class of wise men possessing special privileges and holding the highest social rank. This was the field which the Greek Cynics sought to occupy, but they did not gain the respect and confidence of their people as did the wise men of India; perhaps because they did not prepare themselves sufficiently for their vocation or did not make equal efforts to perform useful service.

Among the companions of Alexander in his expedition to India was Onesicritus, who wrote a biography of Alexander. "Onesicritus says that he himself was sent to converse with these Indian sophists. For Alexander had heard that these people always went naked and devoted themselves to endurance (*καρτερίας*) and that they were held in very great honor . . . He found fifteen men . . . who were in different postures, standing or sitting or lying naked and motionless till evening . . . and that it was very hard to endure the sun, which was so hot at mid-day that no one else could easily endure walking on the ground with bare feet. All that he (Mandanis), the oldest and wisest of the sophists, said, according to Onesicritus, tended to this, that the best teaching is that which removes pleasure and pain from the soul, and that grief and hardships differ, for the former is inimical to man and the latter is friendly, since man trains the body for hardship in order that his opinions may be strengthened, whereby he may put a stop to dissensions and be ready to give good advice to all, both in public and in private . . . Mandanis inquired whether such doctrines were taught among the Greeks; and when he (Onesicritus) answered that Pythagoras taught such doctrines and also bade people to abstain from meat, as did also Socrates and Diogenes, Mandanis replied that he regarded the Greeks as sound minded in general, but that they were wrong in one respect, in that they preferred custom to nature, for otherwise, Mandanis said, they would not be ashamed to go naked like himself and live on frugal fare . . . Whenever they chance upon anyone carrying figs or bunches of grapes, they get fruit from that person as a free offering" (Strabo 15, 1, 63-65). Here we find a number of Cynic ideas,—apathy attained through training and hardship, living according to nature, disregard of customs, shamelessness and a



class of wise men having the highest social rank, entitled to receive contributions from every one and not expected to perform any manual labor. The following seems to come from the same source as the above: "To those who were in greatest reputation among them and lived a private quiet life, he (Alexander) sent Onesicritus, one of Diogenes the Cynic's disciples, desiring them to come to him. Calanus, it is said, very arrogantly and roughly commanded him to strip himself and hear what he said naked, or otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from Zeus himself. But Mandanis received him with more civility, and hearing him discourse of Socrates, Pythagoras and Diogenes, told him he thought them men of great parts, and to have erred in nothing so much as in having too great respect for the laws and customs of their country" (Plutarch, *Lives*, Alexander 65). Here we find agreement with Cynicism in disregard of laws and customs. It is probable that the contents of Onesicritus' *Life of Alexander* were widely known in Greece and may have suggested the formation of a sect of wise men in Greece. The fact that Onesicritus professed to be a disciple of Diogenes may have stimulated the growth of the Diogenes Legend.

Arrian gives an account of the Gymnosophists which makes no mention of Onesicritus. He states that his chief authority was Ptolemy, a general of Alexander who afterwards became king of Egypt, and also wrote a biography of Alexander. "Once when he (Alexander) came to Texila and saw those of the Indian wise men who go naked, he desired very much that one of these men should join him, since he so much admired their endurance (*καρτερίαν*). On this the oldest among these wise men, whose pupils the others were, called Dandanis, said that he would not join Alexander and would not permit any of his school to do so. For he is said to have replied that he was just as much a son of Zeus himself as Alexander was, and that he had no need of anything from Alexander, since he was contented with what he had; he perceived, moreover, that those who were wandering about with Alexander over all those countries and seas were none the better for it, and that there was no end to their many wanderings. He did not then desire anything that Alexander could give him, nor

did he fear being kept out of anything of which Alexander might be possessed. While he lived, the land of India was all he needed, giving to him its fruits in their seasons, and when he dies, he would merely be released from an uncomfortable companion, his body" (Anabasis 7, 2, 1-4). Here we find mention of endurance, wanting nothing and an illustration of the freedom of speech claimed by the Cynics. The attitude of Dandanis toward Alexander was similar to that which Diogenes was represented as taking in the story of his meeting with Alexander (D. L. 6, 38).

These wise men were probably Jains, members of an ancient Indian sect which avoided the ownership of property and did not recognize the authority of the Vedas or the existence of a god. The Jains sought by renunciation to escape transmigration. They practiced asceticism "to disengage the spirit from its phenomenal environment" (Prof. P. E. Dumont, Lecture Notes). The most ascetic branch of the Jains went without clothing. Their self-imposed hardships were paralleled by the stories of Diogenes rolling in his jar over hot sand, walking over snow with bare feet and embracing a bronze statue in cold weather (D. L. 6, 29 & 34). Crates was represented as writing. "Seek not only the complete of the goods, i. e. self control and endurance, but also that which produces them, i. e. hardships" (15th Letter).

Plutarch represents Alexander as motivated by a desire to carry Greek civilization to Asia and as saying: "We propose to settle the victorious Greeks in India . . . There by report live a certain people professing a rigid and austere philosophy and more frugal than Diogenes, as going altogether naked. They have no occasion for scrip or wallet, for they never lay up provisions, having always fresh and new food gathered from the earth" (The Fortune or Virtue of Alexander). Here Plutarch associates the Gymnosophists with the Greek Cynics and credits Alexander with having knowledge of them before his expedition to India.

Diogenes was represented as saying, when asked where he came from, "I am a citizen of the universe" (D. L. 6, 63), also, "The only true citizenship is that in the universe" (D. L. 6, 72). These two passages are susceptible of a Buddhist interpretation, for the Buddhists taught that a man was merely a fragment of the

universe, without individuality or separate identity. Since all men were fragments of the same universe they did not recognize distinctions of caste, race or nationality. These alleged sayings of Diogenes may have been invented a hundred years or more after his time in a period when the Greeks had ample opportunities to acquaint themselves with Indian philosophies.

The Buddhists avoided the passions,—love, hate, fear, anger and grief,—and this resembles the Cynic apathy. They held that all visible things,—money, property, etc. were illusions. They believed that inaction was generally better than action, and this corresponds with Cynic idleness. Buddhists and Cynics alike sought freedom through extinction of desires. These similarities point to the probability that the teaching of the Gautama Buddha, Sakya Muni, found its way, in an incomplete and corrupt form, to Greece in or about the 3rd century B. C. Buddha was represented as wearing a mean robe, the color of the ground, and as carrying a bowl in which he received contributions of food. Buddhist monks were mendicants and celibates, wore distinctive saffron robes and carried begging bowls. The Cynics were mendicants and celibates, wore distinctive cloaks and carried wallets which corresponded to the Buddhist begging bowl. The distinctive dress and equipment of both Buddhists and Cynics were due to their claim to belong to privileged classes entitled to receive contributions from every one.

There are passages in Buddhist scriptures which contain thoughts akin to some of the Cynic ideas. They both emphasized the idea of freedom. "One who does no action and has no desires looks on the universe as transient . . . Having his understanding always fixed upon indifference to worldly objects, searching for his own faults, he procures the release of his self from bonds" (*Anugita* 4, 13). "There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey and has abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides and thrown off all fetters" (*Dhammapada* 7, 90). "Those who have nothing and hate nothing have no fetters" (*Dhamm.* 16, 211). "He who is alike to friend and foe, as also to honor and dishonor, who is alike in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike, who is taciturn and contented with anything whatever, who

is homeless and is of a steady mind and full of devotion, that man is dear to me " (Bhagavad-gita 12, 19). " The man who is free from credulity but knows the uncreated, who has cut off all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest of men " (Dhamm. 7, 97). " He indeed I call a Brahman who calls nothing his own, who is poor and free from love of the world " (Dhamm. 26, 42). " Leaving all pleasures behind and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all troubles of the mind " (Dhamm. 6, 87). " Those whose minds are well grounded in the elements of knowledge, who without clinging to anything rejoice in freedom from attachments, whose appetites have been conquered and who are full of light, are free even in this world " (Dhamm. 6, 89).

In the Sutras of Apastamba receiving gifts was enumerated as one of the six duties of a Brahman. But the Indians did not exalt ignorance as a virtue and although the Buddhists avoided concentrating affections on individuals, they taught love for all living beings and were free from the complete selfishness of the Cynics. The Cynics did not grasp the Indian philosophies in their entirety. If there were resemblances there were also differences. The Indian philosophers spent their time in instruction, discussions, meditation and self-improvement; they had no time for earning a livelihood and their requests for food were understood and complied with. They accepted nothing but food and rejected money. The Cynics generally demanded money and this demand was irrational. Indian philosophers were kindly and helpful; the Cynics were abusive and unsociable. The Cynics were orators and the Indians were not. The Indian philosophers did not seek happiness or the enjoyment of life; they sought self-improvement, spiritual advancement and increased usefulness to others.

The Indian philosophers taught nothing which was abhorrent to their people; the Cynics did otherwise. The Cynics are said to have approved of cannibalism and Diogenes was quoted as mentioning it as " the custom of some foreign nations " (D. L. 6, 73; cf. D. L. 7, 188; Philodemus, Concerning the Stoics; Theophilus Antiochenus, Ad Autolycum 3; Dio Chrysostom 8, 14). An answer to the question as to what foreign nations had this custom



may be found in the following. "Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they replied that no sum could prevail on them to commit such a deed. In the presence of the same Greeks . . . he sent also for the Callatae, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and entreated him to forbear such language" (Herodotus 3, 38). The Greeks mentioned may have come from Sinope, since this city was readily accessible from Babylon. This passage shows that cannibalism was as abhorrent to the Greeks living in Asia as it was to those living in Europe. "To the east of these (Indians) are other Indians, called Padae, who lived a pastoral life, live on raw flesh and are said to observe these customs; if any man among them is diseased, his nearest connections put him to death . . . The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten" (Herodotus 3, 99). Megasthenes is quoted by Strabo as saying; "Men living in the Hindoo Koosh Mountains copulate with women in public and eat the bodies of their relatives" (15, 32; cf. Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 6, 10; Plutarch, *De Fort. aut Virt. Alex.* 328c; Herod. 1, 216). This may have influenced Cynic shamelessness. The eating of raw flesh, which Herodotus attributes to the Padae in India is also attributed to Diogenes (D. L. 6, 34; Plutarch, *Whether Water or Fire is More Useful*; *Ibid.* *The Eating of Flesh*; Dio Chrysostom 6, 25 & 29).

Diogenes was also connected with the idea of incest and the tragedy "Oedipus" attributed to him is said to have expressed approval of it (Philodemus, *On the Stoics*). Kurt von Fritz writes; "These two works (Thyestes and Oedipus) in one of which Diogenes defended cannibalism, while in the other he allowed incest and declared it to be natural must have been very unpleasant for the Stoics" (*Quellen Untersuchungen*, p. 56). Dio Chrysostom represents Diogenes as saying of Oedipus; "When he had children by his mother, he should have concealed this or made it legal in Thebes . . . Domestic fowls do not object to such relationships, nor dogs, nor any ass, nor do the Persians, although

they pass for the aristocracy of Asia" (10, 29-30). The idea of incest seems to have come from Babylon (D. L. 1, 7; Philo Judaeus, *On Special Laws* 3; Plutarch, *De Fort. aut Virt. Alex.* 328c; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 6, 10; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrr. Hipot.* 3, 205). It was abhorrent to the Greeks, as is shown by the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles (cf. *Xen. Mem. Soc.* 4, 4, 20).

The same ideas may have originated in Greece and India independently, but in the case of Cynicism the similarities to Indian philosophies were too numerous and too striking to be explainable in this way; and since inter-communication existed it appears more than probable that some of the ideas of Cynicism came from India. Indian philosophies were suited to the country, the climate and the temperament of the people while Cynicism in Greece was a misfit and this is an additional reason for believing that it was borrowed from a foreign source. The supine acceptance of existing conditions without trying to improve them, as taught by the Cynics, was Oriental and not European. The Indian philosophers, Brahmins, Buddhists, Jains and others, were respected and honored. The general attitude of Greek public opinion toward the Cynics is indicated by the fact that the Cynics were called "dogs" and their philosophy "dogism." The Cynics were abused and persecuted, sometimes beaten and tortured, and Cynicism was condemned by Cicero, Lucian and other writers.

Finally, we must take into account the opinion of the Emperor Julian; "Even before Hercules . . . there were men who practiced this philosophy (Cynicism). It seems to be in some ways a universal philosophy and the most natural and to demand no special study whatsoever" (6, 187). The Cynic quest of freedom involved a relaxation of the ordinary restraints of civilization, a repudiation of obligations and a freeing of natural impulses. Among these impulses are indolence, selfishness, greed, envy and jealousy. Cynics have opposed every step of human progress and cynicism is probably coeval with the human race. It is probable that the first man who shaped a stone hammer was jeered at by cynics who claimed that unshaped stones were better. The Cynics abused the rich, scoffed at the religious and learned and condemned public



officials; this hatred of all forms of superiority is frequently encountered today.

There are no Cynic ideas which are traceable to Antisthenes. He was a well known, loyal and respected Athenian citizen and a loyal follower of Socrates. He owned his home and sufficient property to provide him a living. His income was meager and he could have increased it by taking up some gainful occupation but he preferred to spend his time in study, teaching and writing. He was frugal, but no more so than Socrates and other Athenians.

The growth of Cynicism in Greece was facilitated by political conditions. The exhaustion caused by the Peloponnesian Wars and the loss of sovereignty by the Greek states—first to Macedonia and afterwards to Rome—caused a general depression and pessimism in Greece. There was a loss of pride in their native states and a loss of interest in arts, sciences and literature. If Cynicism had made its appearance in the time of Themistocles or of Pericles it would have made little progress.

We do not find in the sayings and writings of Crates, Bion and Teles the claim of being wise men and the emphasis on wisdom which was a distinguishing characteristic of the Cynics and which evidently belonged to a later period.

## DIOGENES OF SINOPE

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Diogenes may have been an obscure vagrant of Corinth who gained publicity through a chance meeting with Alexander and subsequently acquired fame through being identified with an Athenian writer named Diogenes and with the hero of romances by Menippus and Eubulus, enhanced by the growth of an extensive legend.

We have only three items of information in regard to him which can be classed as biographical. The only contemporary mention of Diogenes which we have is that of Aristotle, "The Dog called taverns the public tables (*φειδίσια*) of Attica" (Rhet. 3, 10, 1411 a 24). The purpose of this is to contrast the laxity and extravagance of the Athenians with the simplicity and frugality of the Spartans. Aristotle evidently mentions it as having some rhetorical value but, in calling Diogenes "The Dog" and ignoring his name, does not show any respect for him; but he shows that Diogenes was so generally known as "The Dog" that his name was unnecessary, also that no one else was called "The Dog" there at that time. The passage shows Diogenes as criticising the Athenians and as favoring frugality and there are other stories of Diogenes, from less authentic sources, which represent him as expressing the same ideas (D. L. 6, 27 & 59; Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 13, 25; 27th Letter of Diogenes). Diogenes shows no appreciation of the superior intellectualism and art of the Athenians nor of their liberty under their democratic government. If he had emphasized freedom as Crates did he would have objected to the regimented lives of the Spartans.

Another mention of Diogenes which may be regarded as biographical is the following: "Through watching a mouse running about, says Theophrastus in the Megarian dialogue, not looking for a place to lie down in, not afraid of the dark, not seeking any of the things which are considered to be dainties, he (Diogenes) discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances"

(D. L. 6, 22). Here we find another mention of frugality. Theophrastus took charge of the Lyceum on the departure of Aristotle from Athens in 323 B. C., at the time when Diogenes is said to have died. The *Rhetorica* of Aristotle was written in Athens about 330 B. C., six years after the alleged meeting of Alexander and Diogenes. His mention of Diogenes and that of Theophrastus indicate that Diogenes was well known in Athens at that time.

"He did not lean upon a staff until he grew infirm, but afterwards he would carry it everywhere, not indeed in the city, but when walking the road with it and his wallet,—so say Olympiodorus, once a magistrate at Athens, Polyeuctus the orator and Lysanias the son of Aeschro" (D. L., 6, 22-23). Friedrich Leo says of the men named here: "The first two are men who might have seen Diogenes with their own eyes; the third was a grammarian of the generation of Zenodotus and Callimachus" (*Die Griechische-Römische Biographie*, p. 51; cf. Kurt von Fritz, *Quellen-Untersuchungen*, p. 36). This passage indicates that at some time, perhaps fifty years after the death of Diogenes, but little was generally known of him and inquiries were being made about him, perhaps because of some newly awakened interest in him. The inquirers seem to have been chiefly desirous of learning whether Diogenes invariably carried a staff and the answer is negative, for it appears that he carried a staff only under circumstances in which it was customary to do so. If there had been anything distinctive in the dress or equipment of Diogenes it appears probable that it would have been mentioned here. In the 19th Letter of Crates it is stated that Diogenes "never put on the Cynic cloak." We have no reason for believing that there was anything exceptional in the dress, equipment or appearance of Diogenes.

All of our authentic information of Diogenes seems to relate to the later years of his life, subsequent to the only occasion when he could have met Alexander and it all comes from Athens. It is consistent with the belief that he gained publicity in Athens after this meeting with Alexander. He was said to have come from Sinope on account of an adulteration of the currency there (D. L. 6, 20 & 58; Suidas, Diogenes). All of the accounts of this adultera-

tion except that of Diocles attribute it to Diogenes. Diocles seems to have been a builder of the Diogenes Legend and, since he wrote in the 1st century B. C., the value of his statements depends on the source of his information. Since this source is not mentioned, his statement has the appearance of an invention. It does not account for the flight or exile of Diogenes from Sinope. The statement of Diocles that "his father was entrusted with the money of the state" is in accord with the statement that "his father entrusted him with the money and he debased it" (D. L. 6, 21) and also with the results of a recent study of the ancient coins of Sinope. Nine coins have been found bearing the letters ΙΚΕΣΙΟ and the name of the father of Diogenes was said to be *Ἰκερίος*. Of the coins minted in 350 B. C. a large proportion were found to be of base metal. According to the generally accepted chronology, Diogenes was then fifty-seven years old. His father must have been an old man and a transfer of his business to Diogenes was probable.

An apologist for Diogenes explains that the expression "Adulterating the currency" was used in a figurative sense, meaning that Diogenes changed customs or standards of conduct and not that Diogenes had counterfeited money (Herman Diels, *Aus dem Leben des Kynikers Diogenes*). But this explanation does not account for the flight or exile of Diogenes from Sinope. The figurative language was attributed to the oracle and not to Diogenes and one of the oracle stories says that he did counterfeit it (D. L. 6, 20). He was represented as being reproached for this crime and as admitting it (D. L. 6, 49 & 56). The 1st Letter of Diogenes is addressed to the Sinopeans; it mentions his exile and says that he prefers Athens to Sinope but does not deny his guilt. Disrepute is mentioned as one of the hardships of Diogenes and a man believed to be a counterfeiter would naturally have suffered disrepute (Dio Chrysostom 8, 16; *Ibid.* 9, 12).

The oracle story seems to have made its appearance in the 2nd century A. D., for earlier writers make no mention of it. Dio Chrysostom, writing at the beginning of this century, represents Diogenes as condemning the practice of consulting oracles (Discourse 10). One version of the oracle story represents Diogenes as receiving a divine mission to change customs and standards

(Maximus Tyrius 36; Julian 6, 188; Ibid. 7, 218; D. L. 6, 71; Suidas, Diogenes a). This story conflicts with the story of Diogenes receiving his instruction from Antisthenes and with the Stoic claim of succession from Socrates and it does not account for the exile and subsequent disrepute of Diogenes. Suidas seems to have found the traditions of Diogenes to be conflicting, for he gives two accounts of him. One of these accounts makes no mention of the oracle and this seems to indicate that the oracle story was not generally accepted. Both accounts state that Diogenes counterfeited the currency at Sinope and fled to Athens to escape punishment. This is corroborated by an account in D. L. 6, 22. If Diogenes had not fled he probably would have been executed. Worthy and respected men were sometimes exiled for political reasons, e. g. Aristides the Just, and it was more respectable to be an exile than an escaped criminal and it is probable that Diogenes represented himself as an exile.

The mention of Diogenes by Aristotle shows that Diogenes received the name of "The Dog" at Athens. Themistius says: "The people of Athens called Diogenes 'The Dog,' because his bed was the earth and he passed the nights on the streets before their houses" (Concerning Virtue 440). The brutish conduct in public attributed to Diogenes may have contributed to his being given this name (vide pp. 3 & 17 supra).

The story that Diogenes was accompanied by a slave named Manes was mentioned by Teles (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31) and is consequently one of the oldest stories of him. It is probable that Manes was implicated in the crime of counterfeiting and that both he and Diogenes were fugitives from justice. That he did not accompany Diogenes through affection is shown by his deserting Diogenes soon after reaching Greece (Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31; D. L. 6, 55; Seneca, On Peace of Mind 8; Ibid., Of a Happy Life 15; Aelian, V. H. 3, 28). The relations between Diogenes and Manes may be contrasted with those between Zeno and Persaeus, who became Zeno's disciple, companion, follower and biographer (D. L. 7, 6, 13 & 36).

The money which Diogenes had on his arrival in Greece was, no doubt, soon depleted and he was compelled to take account of



his needs and resources. He could not expect aid from Sinope, for his family estate was probably confiscated. Theophrastus says that Diogenes, through watching a mouse "discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances" (D. L. 6, 22). Theophrastus was a contemporary of Diogenes, a member of the Lyceum and the successor of Aristotle. It appears from his statement that Diogenes adopted his form of life on account of the force of circumstances and not, as was the case with Crates, through deliberate choice as a result of philosophy. We note in this mouse story the idea of observing the conduct of animals for guidance, an idea afterwards adopted by the Cynics. This mouse story was repeated and embellished by Plutarch (*Progress in Virtue* 5) and by Aelian (V. H. 13, 216).

But frugality did not completely solve his problem; an income was needed. Antisthenes said that if he should lose the income from his real estate he would seek some form of employment (Xenophon, *Symposium* 4, 40). Cleanthes, arriving in Athens without money, studied philosophy in the day-time and drew water for pay at night (D. L. 7, 168-170). Diogenes seems to have had a repugnance for any form of labor; this may have resulted from snobbishness or natural indolence.

Sinope was a commercial city and the father of Diogenes seems to have been a prominent and wealthy citizen. Diogenes was said to have had a slave with him on his arrival in Athens. It is probable that his family belonged to the upper social class in Sinope. But in Athens there was a line of social discrimination against hucksters, barbers, tavern-keepers and manual laborers (Plato, *Laws* 11, 919; Aristotle, *Politica* 1, 11-13). Diogenes probably had good early advantages and the standards of education were high in the Ionian provinces. No doubt, he could have found profitable employment in Athens but Fronto says, "Diogenes the Cynic not only earned no money but took no care of what he had" (Ambr. 398).

Sinope was on a trade route between Greece and India. Diogenes may have met merchants and travelers from India and learned something from them of the Gymnosophists who were honored as wise men in India and received contributions from

their countrymen. By posing as a "wise man" Diogenes could collect contributions and supply his needs without loss of social caste. Plutarch says: "We may often turn the edge of fortune when things turn out not as we wish. Diogenes was driven into exile, but it was not so bad for him, for his exile made him a philosopher" (On Contentedness of Mind 6). Musonius says: "Diogenes, from having been a private person, became a philosopher by being exiled; for, instead of remaining in Sinope, he spent his life in Hellas and carried out in practice the virtues of the philosopher" (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 40, 9). "When some one reproached him (Diogenes) with his exile, his reply was 'Nay, it was through that, you miserable fellow, that I came to be a philosopher'" (D. L. 6, 49). He did not ask for contributions as a humble suppliant but maintained an attitude of superiority to every one. He was represented as writing: "If now I reconcile you, mother, by showing you the advantages I gain by wearing the worn cloak and bearing the wallet and staff and begging bread from my inferiors, I thank the gods" (34th Letter). He demanded contributions as a right. "Being short of money, he (Diogenes) told his friends that he applied to them, not for alms, but for repayment of his due" (D. L. 6, 46).

But, in posing as a wise man, Diogenes was confronted with an obstacle; it became necessary for him to define his attitude toward the wise men of Greece. Diogenes was unwilling to accept inferiority to anyone. Since he had no property, he denounced all who possessed property; since he knew nothing of philosophy, science or art, he condemned philosophy, science and art.

The most marked characteristic of Diogenes was an egotism approaching megalomania. This is shown by his sneering remark about the Athenians mentioned by Aristotle and by the rude reply which he is said to have made to Alexander. In the romance of Menippus the hero said that it was his vocation to govern men and this was credited to Diogenes (D. L. 6, 29). "Being reproached one day for having falsified the currency, he said, 'That was the time when I was such as you are now, but such as I am now you will never be'" (D. L. 6, 56). Dio Chrysostom represents Diogenes as saying: "Many and mighty antagonists have I van-

quished . . . I mean poverty, exile and disrepute, yes, and anger, pain, desire, fear and the most redoubtable beast of all . . . I mean pleasure . . . all alike have succumbed to her . . . all, that is, except myself" (9, 12). Epictetus represents him as saying; "Who, when he sees me, does not think that he sees his king and master" (3, 22, 49). Cicero says: "This very man (Diogenes) used to maintain how much he surpassed the Persian king in his manner of life and fortune, for he was in want of nothing, while the other never had enough" (*Tusc. Disp.* 5, 32). Dio Chrysostom quotes him as saying: that he was "the only independent man in the world and that nobody else had any comprehension of his own highest happiness" (6, 34). "Here is a Cynic who says that Diogenes was conceited . . . moreover, he even ridicules the eating of octopus and says that Diogenes paid a sufficient penalty for his folly and vanity in that he perished of this diet" (*Julian* 6, 18). Julian here quotes Oenomaus but he is probably mistaken in calling him a Cynic for he seems to have said nothing favorable either of Diogenes or of Cynicism. A man of the character described would not have become a pupil or disciple of anyone, for he would not think anyone capable of teaching him. If he had become a pupil of anyone, especially of a man who did not profess to be a wise man, he would have sacrificed his claim of being wise. The Stoics, in building their claim of succession from Socrates, made Diogenes a disciple of Antisthenes. But Antisthenes is believed to have died in 366 B. C. and the recent study of ancient Sinopean coins indicates that Diogenes did not come to Greece before 350 B. C., sixteen years after the death of Antisthenes.

If Diogenes had expressed admiration or approval of anyone he would have abandoned his attitude of superiority. "He was great at pouring scorn on his contemporaries. The school of Euclides he called bilious and Plato's lectures a waste of time" (*D. L.* 6, 24). Tiberianus (385 A. D.) said that Diogenes found in the writings of Plato nothing more than "a golden tongue" (*Fulgentius, Vergiliana Continentia* 154). Fronto says "No one could do more in exposition than Zeno, be more captious in argument than Socrates, more ready than Diogenes at denunciation . . . What, pray, would your wisest of men do if called away from

their own individual habits, . . . Socrates from arguing, Zeno from disputation, Diogenes from finding fault" (Vat. 4). "God counselled Socrates to take the office of examining and confuting men, Diogenes that of rebuking them in a kingly manner and Zeno that of instructing them and laying down doctrines" (Epictetus 3, 21, 19). Dio Chrysostom says: "It was against the sophists, who wanted to be looked up to and thought they knew more than other men, that he (Diogenes) railed in particular" (6, 21).

Diogenes' attitude toward science is indicated by the following: "When some one was discoursing on celestial phenomena, 'How many days,' asked Diogenes, 'were you in coming from the sky?'" (D. L. 6, 39; 38th Letter of Diogenes). In regard to art: "'Very valuable things,' said he (Diogenes), 'were bartered for things of no value and vice versa. At all events, a statue fetches three thousand drachmas, while a quart of barley flour is sold for two copper pieces'" (D. L. 6, 35). "He (Diogenes) held that we should neglect music, geometry, astronomy and the like studies as useless and unnecessary" (D. L. 6, 73). The word "music" as used here probably includes poetry in its meaning. The teaching of Diogenes, if such it may be called, was negative and retrogressive.

One of the earliest and most widely known of the sayings attributed to Diogenes is the following: "All things belong to the gods, the wise are friends of the gods and friends hold things in common; therefore, all things belong to the wise" (D. L. 6, 37 & 71; 10th Letter of Diogenes; 2nd, 26th & 27th Letters of Crates; Plutarch, *The Doctrine of Epicurus*). This may have influenced the later Cynics in the thefts and robberies attributed to them. Socrates said that a man should not take what is another's or be deprived of his own (Plato, *Republic* 4, 433). The ideal state conceived of by Plato did not tolerate idlers and beggars were driven out (*Laws* 11, 936 B). Practically all of the ideas attributed to Diogenes were opposed to those of Socrates and Plato. There was never any reason for classing Diogenes or the Cynics as Socratics.

Many of the stories of Diogenes represent him as doing unusual things. He rolled in his jar over hot sand, walked on snow bare-



footed and embraced bronze statues in freezing weather (D. L. 6, 23 & 34). "To some persons who were ridiculing him for walking backward on a porch, Diogenes said, 'While you are criticizing the way I walk, you are going backward in your way of living'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 4, 84). "He was going into a theater, meeting face to face those who were coming out, and being asked why, 'This,' he said, 'is what I practice doing all my life'" (D. L. 6, 64). These acts may have been the exhibitionism of an egotist or attempts to attract attention and give him an opportunity to solicit contributions. "Plato, when Diogenes asked him to eat in the market place, said, 'How pleasing your simplicity would be if it were not a sham'" (Gnomologium Vaticanum 445).

After a short stay in Athens Diogenes went to Corinth; Corinth was at that time noted for its moral laxity. Wilamowitz says: "Naturally, Diogenes goes to Corinth; the capuchin belongs to the city of sin" (Aristotteles und Athen, Vol. 2, p. 24). But Diogenes probably did not become a capuchin for two hundred years after his death. Dio Chrysostom says: "For he (Diogenes) observed that large numbers gathered at Corinth on account of the harbors and the hetairae and because the city was situated at the cross roads of Greece. Accordingly, just as the good physician should go and offer his services where the sick are most numerous, said he (Diogenes) the man of wisdom should take up his abode where fools are thickest in order to convict them of their folly and reprove them" (8. 5). But we have no information of any followers of Diogenes at Corinth or of anyone being reformed or cured by him there.

Diogenes was sometimes mentioned as a resident of Athens, but Dio Chrysostom, Lucian and Julian place him in Corinth and tradition associated him with the Corinthian courtesan Lais (Clemens Romanus, Homilies 5, 98; Athenaeus, Deip. 13, 588 c & e; Lucian, A True Story). Diogenes was universally believed to have had a meeting with Alexander and Alexander never visited Athens or returned to Greece after his invasion of Asia. The stories which represent this meeting as taking place in Athens and those which place it after the invasion are erroneous.



It seems that Diogenes' first attempt to pose as a wise man in Athens resulted in failure. He was an alien and a criminal, he did no useful work and he is said to have disgusted the Athenians by indecent practices in public. He was called "The Dog" and there are accounts of his being beaten in Athens (20th Letter of Diogenes; D. L. 6, 33). He seems to have been driven out of Athens and to have gone to Corinth as a city having more lax standards of conduct. In the 27th Letter of Diogenes it is stated that he was prohibited from entering Sparta.

The crowning event in the life of Diogenes was his meeting with Alexander, for it was this which gave him publicity and brought him into public favor. It is the only part of his life which can be definitely connected with a date and place, for it could only have occurred on the occasion of Alexander's visit to the Isthmus in 336 B. C. to meet representatives from the Greek states and make preparations for his invasion of Asia. He demanded contributions of men, money and ships for his expedition and they did not dare to refuse, for the recent destruction of Olynthus and Thebes was fresh in their memory. While at the Isthmus Alexander probably visited Corinth, which was only six miles distant, and probably went to the Craneum, a cypress grove and public park overlooking the harbor. There his attention may have been called to Diogenes as an odd character and he may have exchanged some words with him.

Plutarch places the meeting in the Craneum at Corinth; Alexander finds Diogenes stretched out on the ground in the sunshine and asks him if he wanted anything; Diogenes replies, "Yes, I would have you stand from between me and the sun" (Lives, Alexander 14). Cicero says "Diogenes, like a Cynic, when Alexander asked him if he wanted anything, 'Just at present,' said he, 'I wish that you would stand a little out of the line between me and the sun,' for Alexander was hindering him from sunning himself" (Tusc. Disp. 5, 32). Arrian says: "He (Alexander) is said to have expressed surprise at Diogenes of Sinope, when he found Diogenes once on the Isthmus lying in the sun. He and his body guard and infantry companions halted and he asked if Diogenes had need of anything. But he merely

answered that he needed nothing else but bade him and his followers stand out of his sunlight" (*Anabasis*, 7, 21-22). "When he (Diogenes) was sunning himself in the Craneum, Alexander came and stood over him and said, 'Ask of me anything you like.' To which he replied, 'Stand out of my light'" (*D. L.* 6, 38). "Alexander sought the name 'unconquered,' but he was unable to overcome the moderation of Diogenes the Cynic. He came to Diogenes, who was lying on the ground, a man with a base appellation but with a rugged appearance, and said that if there was anything he wished given him he might name it. 'Other things later,' replied Diogenes, 'but in the mean time, I wish that you would not obstruct my sunlight'" (*Valerius Maximus* 4, 3). Dio Chrysostom and the writer of the 33rd Letter of Diogenes seem to have felt that if Diogenes was really a wise man he would have felt impelled to offer advice to a young man burdened with responsibility, for Dio makes the meeting the setting of one of his discourses (4, 14-15) and in the letter Alexander is so charmed with the courtesy and wisdom of Diogenes that he takes him with him as a member of his staff. If Diogenes received contributions from others, his refusal to accept anything from Alexander shows discrimination. But while the meeting probably took place, the account of what took place probably came from Diogenes and may have been colored to present himself in the light of a hero. None of the accounts of the meeting represent Diogenes as having any companions, followers or pupils with him.

Diogenes probably returned to Athens after this meeting, for he subsequently became well known there. All Greeks regarded the Macedonians as a menace to the independence of their states, but the feeling against them ran highest at Athens. The Athenians had been beaten by the Macedonians at Chaeronea and Attica lay next in the path of the victorious Macedonian army. They had heard the fiery Olynthiacs and Philippics of Demosthenes and their sister city of Thebes had recently been destroyed by Alexander. Diogenes could gain favor with the Athenians and obtain contributions from them by representing himself as having insulted or rebuffed Alexander and, no doubt, he did so.

The point of view of the Letters of Diogenes is that of a resi-

dent of Athens, but Dio Chrysostom says that he spent his winters in Athens and his summers in Corinth (6, 1-6; Cf. Plutarch, *Progress in Virtue* 6; Maximus Tyrius 36, 5). The earliest and perhaps the only biography of Diogenes was that of Satyrus, written at Alexandria about a hundred years after the death of Diogenes (Hieronymus, *Adversus Jovinianum* 2, 14). The biographies of Satyrus are believed to have been collections of current gossip rather than the products of research (F. Leo, *Die Griechische-Römische Biographie*, p. 118). Our information of the age and date of death of Diogenes is derived from the following passages: "Diogenes is said to have been nearly ninety years old when he died" (D. L. 6, 76). "Demetrius, in his work 'On Men of the Same Name,' asserts that on the same day on which Alexander died in Babylon Diogenes died in Corinth" (D. L. 6, 79; Suidas, *Diogenes* b). Demetrius of Magnesia belonged to the 1st century B. C. and the value of his statement depends on the source; there is room for suspicion that it was influenced by the general tendency to couple the name of Diogenes with that of Alexander. The statement "He was an old man in the 113th Olympiad" i. e. 324-321 B. C. (D. L. 6, 79) sounds conservative and may be well founded. Censorinus has the following: "In this year (the 81st) of their ages Dionysius Heracleotes put an end to his life by abstaining from food and Diogenes the Cynic, on the contrary, died from overeating and indigestion" (*De Die Natali* 15, 2).

Diogenes Laertius says of Diogenes: "Regarding his death there are several different accounts" (6, 76) and he proceeds to relate five of them. The oldest and most popular is that of Sotades of Maroneia; "Diogenes died having eaten a raw polypus" (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 3, 98, 9; Cf. D. L. 6, 34; *Ibid.* 6, 76). This account is followed by Censorinus (*De Die Natali* 15, 2); Athenaeus (*Deip.* 3, 34); Plutarch (*Whether Water or Fire is more Useful*; *Ibid.*, *On the Eating of Flesh*); Lucian (*Vitarum Auctio* 19); Tatian (*Address to the Greeks* 5, 2); Gregory Nazianzen (*Oratio* 225, 7) and Julian (6, 181). An account of his having been bitten by dogs so severely as to cause his death is preferred by Diogenes Laertius (6, 79) and by Suidas (*Diogenes* b). The Cynics com-

mended suicide and naturally we find accounts of Diogenes, the model Cynic, as dying in this way, though the method described (holding his breath) was not likely to find ready belief (D. L. 6, 76 & 77; Lucian, *Dialogi Mortuorum* 2). Hieronymus tells of his dying of a fever on the roadside on his way to the Olympic games (*Adversus Jovinianum* 2) and this is supported by Epictetus (3, 22, 58). He was also said to have died from old age or from unassigned causes (D. L. 6, 51, 52 & 79; Aelian, V. H. 8, 14; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 43; 1st Letter of Crates; Plutarch, *Consolation to Apolloneus*). The place of his death was put at Corinth (D. L. 6, 31 & 78), at Athens (D. L. 6, 79) and on the road to the Olympic games.

On the approach of death Diogenes requested that his body be thrown into the Ilissus River at Athens (D. L. 6, 79; Aelian, V. H. 8, 14); that his body be buried face downward in Corinth (D. L. 6, 31) and that his body be thrown out anywhere without burial (D. L. 6, 79; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 43; Stobaeus, *Flor.* 4, 123, 11; 25th Letter of Diogenes). "He was living alone in a house and when asked, 'If you should die, who would carry you out for burial?' replied, 'Whoever wants the house'" (D. L. 6, 52). He was occupying a room at a tavern and, when asked this question, replied, "The manager of the house" (*Gnomologium Vaticanum* 200). The last two stories indicate that Diogenes had no companions, followers or pupils.

All of these stories cannot be true and they warn us to be cautious in accepting stories of Diogenes as biographical. Prof. Kurt von Fritz says: "In all probability, neither the time nor the manner of the death of Diogenes was exactly known and it is therefore very probable that he did not die in any unusual manner and precisely on this account the freest opportunity was given for legend building" (*Quellen Untersuchungen*, p. 33). There was wide spread interest in Diogenes after his death but it appears that but little notice was taken of him in his life time. Diogenes may have posed as a wise man on his return to Athens but the stories of his being a teacher are myths. H. von Arnim depicts Diogenes as a venerated teacher, meeting his disciples at an appointed place and time and keeping them under instruction for



courses of two or three years. His authorities are D. L. 6, 75 and D. L. 6, 79. But one of these stories places his school in Corinth and the other places it in Athens; they do not support one another, and they are contradicted by a greater number of other stories. Onesicritus of Aegina (D. L. 6, 75) was a myth; Onesicritus of Astypalaea accompanied Alexander on his expedition to India and afterwards wrote a biography of Alexander. He professed to be a disciple of Diogenes, but in his account of his conversation with Mandanis he said that Socrates and Diogenes forbade the eating of flesh (Strabo 15, 1, 63-65). His biography was filled with fiction, including a visit of the queen of the Amazons to Alexander.

Opposed to the stories of Diogenes as a teacher we find the following: "He (Diogenes) turned away from men on account of his disposition, because he disapproved of their sayings and doings" (Aelian, V. H. 13, 26). "When asked what kind of a dog he was, he (Diogenes) replied, 'When hungry, a Maltese, when full, a Molossian,—two breeds which most people praise though, for fear of fatigue, they do not venture out hunting with them. So neither can you live with me, because you are afraid of the discomforts'" (D. L. 6, 55; Cf. D. L. 6, 33; Dio Chrysostom 8, 11; Vienna Papyrus 4). "Diogenes had no court, either great or small . . . He was alone in the Craneum, for he had no pupils at all, nor any such crowd about him as the sophists and the flute players and the choral leaders have" (Dio Chrysostom 4, 12-14; Ibid. 9, 4). "When he declared that all who should follow his treatment would be relieved of folly, wickedness and intemperance, not a man would listen to him or seek to be cured by him . . . The Corinthians were accustomed to see Diogenes every day at Corinth, but they did not think it worth while to listen to him" (Dio Chrysostom 8, 8-10). "This is the contest which I (Diogenes) steadfastly maintain and in which I risk my life against pleasure and hardships, yet not a single wretched mortal gives heed to me" (Dio Chrysostom 8, 26). "One or two, indeed, used to applaud him (Diogenes) in his own day, but more than ten thousand times ten thousand had their stomachs turned by nausea and loathing" (Julian 6, 190). "When one day he was gravely discoursing and



nobody attended to him, he began whistling and, as people clustered about him, he reproached them with coming in all seriousness to hear nonsense, but slowly and contemptuously when the theme was serious" (D. L. 6, 27). Here Diogenes is not a teacher but a street preacher. "Like those who taste the bitter Pontic honey for the first time and spit it out with disgust, those who tried out Diogenes, being put down in argument, went away and avoided him. They enjoyed hearing him revile others but for themselves they feared him and kept away from him" (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 13, 18; Cf. Dio Chrysostom 8, 6-7). Here the discourses of Diogenes seem to have consisted mainly of abuse. If Diogenes had been a teacher such as von Arnim imagines, it is probable that someone of his pupils would have written an account of his teaching, as Plato did for Socrates, as Persaeus did for Zeno, as Teles did for Crates and Bion and as Arrian did for Epictetus. None of the ideas of the Cynics are clearly traceable to Diogenes; the stories representing him as expressing Cynic ideas are probably late inventions. Eduard Schwartz says; "He was not a teacher . . . Diogenes as a teacher is an absurd fiction" (*Charakterkopfe aus der antiken Literatur* 2, pp. 16-20).

But was Diogenes a writer? Diogenes Laertius gives two lists of his writings but names no authority for the first list and only Sotion for the second and he quotes Sotion as denying the authenticity of the first (6, 80). He quotes Sosicrates and Satyrus as saying that Diogenes "left nothing in writing" and Satyrus and Favorinus (6, 73) as saying that Diogenes did not write the tragedies attributed to him. The evidence of Diogenes Laertius in regard to the writings of Diogenes is, on the whole, negative, for all of his authorities reject the first list and only one supports the other. Julian wrote: "If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purposes . . . it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by them . . . but nothing of that sort exists" (6, 186). Since Julian regarded Diogenes as a Cynic, this statement includes him. Julian mentions the tragedies attributed to Diogenes in this connection but says that belief that they had been written by Diogenes had been abandoned. Since he did not mention the other writings listed by Diogenes Laertius it appears

that belief that they had been written by Diogenes had been abandoned also. The only alleged writings of Diogenes that have come down to us are the Letters and they are unquestionably spurious; they are believed to have been written in the 1st century B. C. These letters contain no reference to any other writings of Diogenes. It is probable that there were many Letters of Diogenes which have not come down to us for Epictetus mentions one such Letter (4, 1). Dio Chrysostom was well acquainted with the traditions of Diogenes but he makes no mention of the writings attributed to him, probably because he did not regard them as authentic.

The tragedies and the Republic attributed to Diogenes were universally regarded as discreditable to their author and Philodemus, in his polemic against the Stoics and Cynics, attempts to fasten the odium of having written the Republic on Diogenes. He says: " But some say the Republic is not by the Sinopean but some other (Diogenes); for it is some evil person, not Diogenes " (On the Stoics). Suidas lists: " Diogenes or Oenomaus, an Athenian tragic poet, lived at the time of the overthrow of the Thirty (403 B. C.). His tragedies were Achilles, Helen, Hercules, Thyestes, Medea, Oedipus, Chrysippus and Semele " (Lexicon, Diogenes). This list is identical with that of Diogenes Laertius with the addition of Semele. It is probable that this Athenian also wrote the Republic, for its contents seem to have been similar to that of the tragedies and he may have written others of the writings attributed to Diogenes of Sinope. Eudocia wrote: " Diogenes, also called Oenomaus, was an Athenian writer of tragedies; the dramas produced by him were Achilles, Helen, Hercules, Thyestes, Medea, Oedipus, Chrysippus and Semele " (Violarium 294). This Athenian writer seems to have been little known in his time and his writings were credited to Diogenes of Sinope when the latter gained publicity in Athens. Diogenes the tragic poet was mentioned and quoted as the author of Semele by Athenaeus (Deip. 14, 636). Stobaeus has fragments of two poems by a tragic poet named Diogenes (Flor. 2, 64, 1 & 3, 75). A Cynic would have scorned the production of literature and Diogenes was said to have condemned studies including literature (D. L. 6, 48 & 73; Dio

Chrysostom 8, 9; 17th Letter of Diogenes), which a writer would not have done. The indolence generally attributed to Diogenes would have prevented him from writing and his mode of life, as generally described, would have rendered writing impracticable. Prof. Kurt von Fritz and D. R. Dudley have noted a "Compendium of the Writings of Diogenes" listed among the works of Theophrastus (D. L. 5, 43), but this probably refers to Diogenes of Apollonia. Aristotle was interested in the writings of this physicist and, no doubt, Theophrastus was also. Neither of them would have been interested in the obscene trash attributed to Diogenes of Sinope. Eduard Schwartz says, "Diogenes wrote nothing" (Charakterkopfe 2, p. 18).

Indolence was a generally recognized trait of Diogenes but his dominant characteristic was egotism. His egotism was probably the cause of his general condemnation, denunciation and abuse of all other men; it was commented on or exemplified by Diogenes Laertius (6, 26 & 41), Julian (6, 181), Epictetus (3, 22, 49), Cicero (Tusc. Disp. 5, 32), Dio Chrysostom (6, 1-7) and the 23rd Letter of Diogenes. The attitude of Diogenes toward other men was one of scorn rather than hatred; he was a megalomaniac rather than a misanthropist. Montaigne says: "I do not think that we are so unhappy as we are vain, or have so much malice as folly, nor so miserable as we are vile and mean. And, therefore, Diogenes, who passed his time rolling himself in his jar and made nothing of the great Alexander, esteeming us no better than flies or bladders stuffed with wind, was a sharper and more penetrating and consequently, in my opinion, a juster judge than Timon, surnamed the man-hater" (Essays 50). There may be an allusion here to the 47th Letter of Diogenes, in which we find: "If the race of men should cease to exist there would be as much cause for regret as there would be if the flies and wasps should pass away."

But Diogenes did not include himself among those whom he scorned. His megalomania approached delusions of grandeur. Epictetus quoted him as saying: "Who, when he sees me, does not think he sees his king and master" (3, 22, 49). Some persons of his own time are said to have thought him insane. "The crowd scorned him and called him crazy" (Dio Chrysostom 8, 36).

"Some admired him as the wisest man in the world, to others he seemed crazy" (Ibid. 9, 8). "Diogenes said that he regarded Fortune as contemplating him and saying, 'I am unable to dominate that mad dog'" (Stobaeus, Eclog. 2, 7, 21). "Plato, on being asked by somebody, 'What sort of a man do you consider Diogenes to be?' 'A Socrates gone mad,' said he'" (D. L. 6, 64; Aelian, V. H. 4, 38).

The most surprising thing about Diogenes is the fact that a number of writers seem to have accepted him at his own valuation, viz. Seneca, Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom, Juvenal, Julian and Walter Savage Landor, but they do not make clear the grounds on which their estimate is based.



Restoration of a relief carving found near Rome, depicting the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes and locating it at Athens. The carving is believed to belong to the middle of the 1st century A. D. Cf. W. Amelung, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 31, No. 3.



## THE DIOGENES LEGEND

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A vagrant beggar with a criminal record, commonly called "The Dog," who did nothing, taught nothing and wrote nothing, became a hero, a philosopher, a great man, a saint and perhaps, eventually, a god.

Diogenes is now the apostle of honesty, for the generally known story of him represents him as carrying a lighted lantern in broad daylight, searching for an *honest* man. This story seems to have come from the following: "He (Diogenes) lit a lamp in broad daylight and said as he went about, 'I am looking for a man'" (D. L. 6, 41; Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 1, 1). This was an old story in the time of Diogenes; it had been told of Aesop, Heraclitus, Democritus and others (A. Packmohr, *De Diogenis Sinopenensis apophthegmatis Quaestiones Selectae* p. 74). It seems to have been connected with Diogenes in the 2nd century A. D. for Philo Judaeus, who wrote at Alexandria in the 1st century A. D. and was familiar with traditions of Diogenes, tells this lantern story of an unnamed philosopher (*On the Giants* 54). The meaning of the story was to emphasize the importance and scarcity of men possessing virility, courage and ability. It was not suited to the Diogenes of the 2d century A. D. for he was a Cynic and the use of a lantern was opposed to the Cynic virtue of simplicity; a lantern was an unnecessary and artificial product of civilization. The word "honest" was not inserted in this story until modern times, for it was told in the 7th century A. D. by Antonius Confessor and Maximus Monachus (Mullach's *Fragments*) without the word "honest." Diogenes was a counterfeiter and was said to have encouraged stealing and the Cynics were called thieves and robbers. This lantern story is an illustration of the borrowing process which played an important part in the building of the Diogenes Legend, for many of the stories told of Diogenes had been previously told of other men.

It is believed that there was a vast number of stories of Diogenes and that only a minor part of them has come down to us. Diogenes



Laertius tells many of them but says: "Many other sayings are attributed to him, which would take long to enumerate" (6, 69). Plutarch relates many of them and says, "Diogenes may serve for a thousand instances" (Progress in Virtue 8). Dio Chrysostom says: "Many persons relate sayings of Diogenes, of which some were, perhaps, spoken by him and the rest were composed by others" (72, 11). This shows that in the 2nd century A. D. it was realized that most of the stories of Diogenes were fictitious. Diogenes was an attractive subject for story tellers, for there was no authoritative account of him and no story told of him could be definitely refuted.

The publicity of Diogenes probably originated from his meeting with Alexander but interest in him seems to have been stimulated by his being confused with the hero of romances by Menippus and Eubulus (34th Letter of Crates; Philo Judaeus, *Quod Omnis Probus* 18; D. L. 6, 29 & 75). Menippus was said to be a resident of Thebes; we have no information of his going to Corinth or Athens or of Diogenes going to Thebes. Menippus may never have heard of Diogenes of Sinope and the fact that he called his hero Diogenes has no special significance for this was a common name. His hero expresses no Cynic ideas and shows no Cynic traits. The fact that he leaves his hero with the pirates shows the hero was not Diogenes of Sinope for the latter was believed to have lived and died in Corinth or Athens. Menippus was a writer of imaginative stories, including a visit to Hades, afterwards imitated by Lucian (Rudolf Helm, *Lucian und Menipp*). Diogenes Laertius says of Menippus, "There was no seriousness in him" (6, 99). If the actual writers of the Diogenes romance came from Colophon, as Diogenes Laertius seems to imply (6, 100), there is no probability that its authors knew anything of Diogenes of Sinope. The romance of Eubulus was a sequel to that of Menippus; the hero shows no Cynic traits and the instruction he gives the sons of Xenocrates is opposed to Cynicism. There is no apparent reason for classing Menippus as a Cynic; he seems to have been a business man and a money maker; Diogenes Laertius says that he, "Did not understand what it was to be a Cynic." The romances of Menippus and Eubulus became an important part of the Dio-

genes Legend because they were accepted as biographical accounts of Diogenes of Sinope.

The Diogenes Legend grew, not only through inventions and borrowings but also through the growth and development of earlier stories. The mouse story is one of the oldest of these stories. Theophrastus described Diogenes as learning, from observing the conduct of a mouse, "the means of adapting himself to circumstances." Here the lesson is a practical and economic one (D. L. 6, 22). The version of Plutarch is as follows: "They relate of Diogenes, when he began to be a philosopher, that the Athenians were celebrating a festival and there were public banquets and shows and mutual festivities and drinking and revelling all night and he, coiled up in a corner of the market place intending to sleep, fell into a train of thought likely seriously to turn him from his purpose and shake his resolution, for he reflected that he had adopted without any necessity a toilsome and unusual kind of life and by his own fault sat there debarred of all the good things. At that moment, however, they say a mouse stole up and began to munch some of the crumbs of his barley cake, and he plucked up his courage and said to himself in a railing and chiding fashion, 'What say you, Diogenes? Do your leavings give this mouse a sumptuous meal, while you the gentleman, wail and lament because you are not getting drunk yonder and reclining in soft luxurious couches?'" (Progress in Virtue 5). Here Diogenes is a man of independent means, uninfluenced by circumstances and has adopted his form of life as a result of philosophical reasoning. He is like a religious devotee contemplating entrance into a monastic order. The version of Aelian is as follows: "Diogenes of Sinope was alone and lay down in solitude. There was no one who relieved his wants and no one who invited him to be a guest. He turned away from men on account of his disposition, because he disapproved of their sayings and doings. He was in low spirits and was chewing the tops of leaves; under these circumstances a mouse approached him and nibbled crumbs which had fallen from his loaf of bread. As Diogenes observed closely what the mouse did, he became cheerful and even joyous. He smiled and said, 'This mouse is not in need of Athenian luxuries, but you, Diogenes, are

down-hearted because you are not a guest at Athenian banquets.' In this way he gained a tranquil mind" (Var. Hist. 13, 26). Here Diogenes is a philosopher who through reflection gains a "tranquil mind"—the object of his philosophy. Maximus Tyrius wrote: "Therefore I say that from this tyranny of circumstances the only liberation is that life which raised Diogenes above Lycurgus and Solon and Artaxerxes and Alexander and made him more free than Socrates" (36, 6). Here Diogenes, through his way of life, becomes a great man, the greatest that ever lived. His way of life was what is now commonly called that of a hobo; but there probably were hobos before Diogenes and it is more likely that he attained greatness through his meeting with Alexander.

The story of his meeting with Alexander was also a growing one. Our earliest account of this meeting is that of Cicero: "Diogenes . . . when Alexander asked him if he wanted anything, 'Just at present,' said he, 'I wish that you would stand a little out of the line between me and the sun,' for Alexander was hindering him from sunning himself" (Tusc. Disp. 5, 32). The accounts of Arrian (*Anabasis* 7, 2, 1/2) and of Valerius Maximus (4, 3, Ext. 4) agree in the main with that of Cicero; but Dio Chrysostom warns us: "All men without exception are naturally delighted when they see wisdom honored by the greatest power and might; hence they not only relate the facts in such cases but add extravagant embellishments of their own" (4, 2). This is illustrated by the version of Plutarch: "Soon after the fall of Thebes, the Greeks, being assembled at the Isthmus, declared their resolution of joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians and proclaimed him their general. While he stayed here, many public ministers and philosophers from all parts came to visit him and congratulate him on his election but, contrary to his expectation, Diogenes of Sinope, who was then living in Corinth, thought so little of him that, instead of coming to compliment him, he never so much as stirred out of the suburb called the Craneum, where Alexander found him lying along in the sun. When he saw so much company near him he raised himself a little and vouchsafed to look upon Alexander, and he kindly asked him whether he wanted anything. 'Yes,' said he, 'I would have you stand

from between me and the sun.' Alexander was so much struck at this answer and so surprised at the greatness of the man, who had taken so little notice of him that, as he went away, he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, that if he were not Alexander he would be Diogenes" (Lives, Alexander, 4). Alexander was the general before he went to the Isthmus; he called upon the rulers of the Greek states to meet him there and he demanded contributions of men, money and ships; the rulers acceded because they did not dare to refuse. Diogenes was probably at that time an obscure vagrant who was not known outside of the Craneum at Corinth. But this story of Plutarch is important because it has been accepted as historical by Grote, Smith and other historians. Seneca wrote: "Diogenes, who walked naked through the treasures of Macedonia, the king's wealth under his feet, must then, in good sooth, have rightly seemed, both to himself and all others, whose eyes were keen enough to perceive the real truth to be superior even to him at whose feet all the world lay. He was far more powerful, far richer even than Alexander, who then possessed everything; for there was more that Diogenes could refuse to receive than Alexander was able to give" (De Beneficiis 5, 4). Seneca conceives of Alexander as already the conqueror of Asia at the time of the meeting and as offering Diogenes the Macedonian treasury. At the only time when Alexander could have met Diogenes, he was collecting contributions from every available source; there is no probability that he thought of giving Diogenes more than a drachma. Julian wrote: "Diogenes obeyed the god and so became, instead of an exile, I will not say greater than the king of Persia, but, according to the tradition handed down, actually an object of envy to the man who had broken down the power of Asia and was rivalling the exploits of Hercules and ambitious to surpass Achilles" (7, 210. Cf. Juvenal, Satire 14). Julian, like Seneca, conceives of Alexander as already the conqueror and this heightens the dramatic effect of the story. Diogenes accepted aid from others; why did he discriminate against Alexander? There are men who resent superiority—who are antagonized by any appearance of superiority in others—and Diogenes may have been a man of this



sort. It is not easy to comprehend this conception of greatness. It evidently did not require as an essential element the performance of any creative or constructive work.

The story of the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes gave rise to a series of stories representing Diogenes as admonishing and rebuking all of the rulers of his time. In this role Diogenes even reached the stage, for Gregory Nazianzen speaks of, "The wordiness of Diogenes, who lived in a jar where he received as guests the rulers of the tragedies and bade them stand aside" (*Or.* 4, *Contra Julianum* 1, 72). He visited and rebuked Philip after the battle of Chaeronea (*D. L.* 6, 43; *Epictetus* 3, 22, 24; *Plutarch*, *How One can Discover a Flatterer from a Friend* 30; *Ibid.*, *On Exile* 16). He berated Dionysius II of Syracuse (*Plutarch*, *Lives*, *Timoleon*; *Ibid.*, *Whether an Old Man Ought to take Part in State Affairs*; 8th & 29th Letters of Diogenes). He wrote letters of admonition and censure to Alexander (23d, 24th & 40th Letters of Diogenes; *St. Basil*, *Letter No. 9*), also to Perdiccas (5th & 45th Letters of Diogenes; *D. L.* 6, 44) and to Antipater (4th, 14th & 15th Letters of Diogenes). The 4th Letter, addressed to Alexander, begins, "What I said to Antipater and Perdiccas I say also to you, that you seem to think that ruling is making war on men." He snubbed Craterus (*D. L.* 6, 57) and wrote letters to the king of the Persians and to Archidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians (*Julian*, 7, 212; *Epictetus* 4, 1, 20-30 & 156). He had a conversation with Antigonos (*Plutarch*, *False Modesty*; *Seneca*, *De Beneficiis* 2, 17). These stories were probably the origin of the Cynic claim of special freedom of speech and the Cynic practice of criticising and abusing public officials.

But Diogenes did not stop with becoming a philosopher, a wise man and a great man; he became a saint. *Suidas* says: "He was loved by God, who appointed him to change the political currency" (*Lexicon*, *Diogenes a*). But *Suidas* gives another account of Diogenes in which his sainthood does not appear; this seems to indicate that it was not universally accepted. *Julian* wrote: "The peculiar fitness of Diogenes did not escape his (Apollo's) notice and he made him incline to that philosophy . . . symbolically as to what he willed when he said, 'Falsify the common currency' "



(6, 188). Julian also says of Diogenes: "He preferred to live in Athens, but when the divine command sent him away to Corinth . . . he did not think that he ought to leave that city, for he believed that the gods took care of him" (7, 212). Maximus Tyrius says that Diogenes "consulted Apollo" and that the life of Diogenes was "taught by Apollo and commended by Zeus" (36, 6). Epictetus said: "Did Diogenes love nobody, he who was so kind and so much a lover of all mankind in general he willingly undertook so much labor and bodily suffering? He did love mankind, but how? As became a minister of God, at the same time caring for men and being also subject to God" (3, 24, 64). Epictetus said also: "Diogenes was sent as a scout . . . he says that death is no evil for neither is it base; he says that fame is the noise of madmen" (1, 24, 1). He said also of Diogenes, "His true parents, indeed, the gods, and his real country he would never have deserted" (4, 1).

Thus, Diogenes rose to the rank of a saint in the 2nd century A. D., but did he also become a god? Epictetus said that Diogenes was divine (*Encheiridion* 15). Julian said: "Let us judge of the attitude of Diogenes toward Gods and men, not from the discourses of Oenomaus or the tragedies of Philiscus, who by ascribing the authorship to Diogenes, grossly slandered that sacred personage, but let us, I say, judge him by his deeds" (7, 212). But Diogenes may have become a "sacred personage" through being a saint and not as himself a god. Diogenes Laertius quoted Cercidas as writing: "Diogenes, a true born son of God, a dog of heaven" (6, 77). "Son of God" is a translation of the word "diogenes" but "dog of heaven" is not so easily explained. Diogenes was represented as writing: "Do not grieve, father, because I am called 'Dog' and wear a doubled cloak . . . Although the name is not suitable, it is in a sense an honorable symbol . . . I am called a dog of heaven, not of earth, because I resemble the former, living not according to opinion, but according to nature, free under God . . . Take courage then, father, with respect to the name, since the dog comes from the gods and the cloak is an invention of the gods" (7th Letter). The Greek word which is translated "heaven" is *οὐρανός* and this meant

simply the visible sky. But there was in the sky a star called the dog star and Diogenes seems to have become connected or identified with this star. This may be the meaning of "dog of heaven." The connection is shown in the following, which belongs to the 4th century A. D.: "'Tell me, dog, whose tomb is this?' 'It is a dog's.' 'But what dog was that.' 'Diogenes.' 'And is he passed away?' 'Not passed away but gone away.' 'What, has that Diogenes gone to the shades, whose wealth was his wallet and whose house was a jar?' 'Cerberus will not let him in.' 'Where is he gone then?' 'Where the bright star of Leo burns, he has been installed now as watch dog for righteous Erigone'" (Ausonius, Epigraph 28). But stars were generally regarded as divine and so, perhaps, Diogenes did become a god.

The mouse stories and stories which attribute sainthood and divinity to Diogenes ignore the Stoic claim of succession from Socrates, for the Stoics made Diogenes a pupil of Antisthenes. In the mouse stories he is represented as developing his philosophy from reflection on the conduct of a mouse and in the sainthood and divinity stories he receives his philosophy from gods. The Diogenes Legend was the most remarkable of all legends for it had less foundation than any other and it went higher. The selection of Diogenes by the Cynics as their leader, model and progenitor was probably due to his having become a great man and a popular character. The growth of the Cynic sect did much to spread the fame of Diogenes.

It is probable that the writings attributed to Diogenes exerted a strong influence on Cynicism and early Stoicism and also on the development of the Diogenes Legend. The Oedipus tragedy is believed to have expressed approval of incest and the Thyestes or Atreus of cannibalism and the Republic is believed to have recommended community of women. Approval of incest, cannibalism and community of women was attributed by Diogenes Laertius to Diogenes and to Chrysippus. While these three ideas are the only ones which have been traced, other Stoic and Cynic ideas may have come from these writings. Early Stoics expressed many Cynic ideas but the Stoics drifted away from Cynicism; they absorbed Platonism from the Academy and became Socratics, while the Cynics

received influences from other sources. Prof. Kurt von Fritz calls attention to the fact that the two lists of the writings of Diogenes differ greatly and that the titles of some of the writings in the second list do not appear in the first and some favorite subjects of discussion among Stoics appear in titles in the second. He says that the changes "seem to show that Sotion had in mind a Stoic edition of Diogenes' writings" (Quellen-Untersuchungen pp. 55-59). The most severely criticised writings, the Republic and the tragedies, were omitted from the second list and the writings whose titles appear in both lists were probably revised and edited by Stoics. Since Diogenes was a link in their chain of succession from Socrates, they naturally wished him to have a set of writings which were respectable and in conformity with their ideas. These Stoicized writings probably contained Platonism and may have been the source of the conception of Diogenes as a saint, which was accepted by Epictetus and Julian.

Julian, the Apostate, in his opposition to Christianity, formed the idea of substituting Cynicism for Christianity and supporting Diogenes as a rival of Jesus Christ. But he realized that Cynicism would have to be reformed and his 6th and 7th Orations were prepared with this object.

Dio Chrysostom said: "Many persons relate sayings of Diogenes, of which some were perhaps spoken by him and the rest were said by others" (72, 11). Many of these Diogenes sayings were apophthegms (*χρεία*). The Greeks were fond of apophthegms and sometimes made collections of them, e. g. Plutarch's Sayings of the Spartans and his Sayings of Rulers and Commanders. An apophthegm usually consisted of a question with a brief and pungent response. Brevity was sought for, especially in the reply. The following is an illustration: "Being asked by some one what wine he (Diogenes) enjoyed drinking, he replied, 'That which belongs to some one else'" (D. L. 6, 34). Here the response is practically one word, *τον ἄλλότριον*. These apophthegms are especially treated of by Gunnar Rudberg (Zur Diogenes-Tradition; Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. 4). It was the apophthegm itself which was important; the person of whom it was told received less consideration. The reply was sometimes attributed to an unnamed

person and sometimes one and the same reply was attributed to different persons. As Diogenes grew in publicity and popularity sayings which had been attributed to other men were attracted to him. When the reputation of philosophers waned their sayings were given fresh interest by transferring them to Diogenes. A. Packmohr has collected a number of Diogenes stories which had been told of other men and has traced their origin. Many of them came from Aristippus, Theodorus and Diagoras and Packmohr expresses the opinion that many came from Greek comedies (*De Diogenis Sinopensis apophthrgmatis quaestiones selectae*). Duemmlar traces many Diogenes sayings to Bion and Metrocles (*Antisthenica*). Prof. Kurt von Fritz finds that many of the Diogenes stories had previously been told of Bion (*Quellen-Untersuchungen* p. 42). The Diogenes Legend also borrowed sayings from Crates (D. L. 6, 60; Athenaeus 12, 591b; Plutarch, *Moralia* 401 A; Stobaeus, *Flor.* 1, 6, 30; *Ibid.* 1, 15, 10). Sometimes the transfer appears obvious, as in the following: "Observing Plato one day at a costly banquet taking olives, 'How is it,' he (Diogenes) said, 'that you, the philosopher who sailed to Sicily for the sake of these dishes, now when they are before you, do not enjoy them?' 'Nay, by the gods, Diogenes,' replied Plato, 'there also for the most part I lived upon olives and such like.' 'Why then,' said Diogenes, 'did you need to go to Syracuse? Was it that Attica did not at that time grow olives?' but Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* attributes this to Aristippus" (D. L. 6, 25). There is no probability that Diogenes and Plato were together at a banquet in Athens, while Aristippus and Plato were believed to have been companions at the table of Dionysius II in Sicily and the pleasure loving Aristippus might have commented on Plato taking simple food which he might have had in Athens. The story is out of place in Athens. Teles quoted Aristippus as saying, "Is not the road to Hades equal and alike from every place?" (Hense, *Teletis Reliquiae* p. 301); this saying was also attributed to Anaxagoras (D. L. 2, 11) and later to Diogenes (Antonius and Maximus, *Mullach Fragments* 2, 296f). The popular story of washing vegetables apparently began with Metrocles and Theodorus (D. L. 2, 102); was transferred to Aristippus and Diogenes



(D. L. 2, 68; Horace, *Epistles* 1, 17; Valerius Maximus 4, 3, Ext. 4; *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 192; Eudocia, *Violarium* 175) and then to Plato and Diogenes (D. L. 6, 58), in each case seeking more popular and better known characters. Walter Savage Landor expressed great admiration of the wit and humor of Diogenes as shown by his sayings (*Imaginary Conversations*, Diogenes and Plato, Note), but these sayings are an accumulation from many sources; they give us no information of Diogenes and serve only as an indication of the growth of the Diogenes Legend. Many were borrowings but it is probable that many others were fresh inventions.

Many of the Diogenes stories are non-Cynic and even anti-Cynic; if they could be credited they would show that Diogenes was not a Cynic and since Cynicism did not make its appearance as a sect for a century after the time of Diogenes, this was probably the case. Cicero wholly condemned Cynicism but he mentioned Diogenes with favor; this indicates that he did not regard Diogenes as a Cynic. Diogenes praised education as "A grace to the young, a consolation to the old, wealth to the poor and ornament to the rich" (D. L. 6, 68). Diogenes called an ignorant rich man a "sheep with a golden fleece" (D. L. 6, 47; Galen, *Protrept.* 6). "Diogenes, being asked what was the most burdensome thing on earth, said, 'An ignorant man'" (Ioannes Damascenus 2, 18, 75). "Diogenes said, 'Education is like a golden wreath for it has honor and elegance'" (Stobaeus, *Eclog.* 2, 31, 92; Ioannes Damascenus 13, 92). The Cynics regarded education as useless and unnecessary and Diogenes was represented as expressing this idea. "To the question, 'What is wretched in life?' he (Diogenes) replied, 'An old man destitute'" (D. L. 6, 51). The Cynics regarded destitution as essential to happiness. "When he (Diogenes) was dining in a temple and in the course of the meal, loaves that were not free from dirt were put on the table, he took them up and threw them away declaring that nothing unclean ought to enter a temple" (D. L. 6, 64). This is opposed to Cynic simplicity and frugality and shows a religious spirit which is foreign to Cynicism. Zoilus of Perga represented Diogenes as giving a woman a lesson in the omnipresence of the Deity (D. L.



6, 37). "To those who said to him, 'You are an old man; take a rest'; 'What,' he (Diogenes) replied, 'if I were running in the stadium, ought I to slacken my pace on approaching the goal? Ought I not rather put on speed?' " (D. L. 6, 34; *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 202). This story gives Diogenes an occupation and is opposed to the Cynic virtue of apathy. "What some assert of Socrates, Diocles records of Diogenes, representing him as saying, 'We must inquire into whatever of good or ill within our halls is wrought' " (D. L. 6, 103). Here Diogenes is represented as a Socratic; it shows that Diocles was a Stoic but gives us no reliable information of Diogenes. The stories of Diogenes are not all favorable to him. There are stories of conversations between Diogenes and Plato in which Plato is given the advantage of the last word and in one of them Plato charges Diogenes with stupidity, in another with hypocrisy and in another with vanity.

"He (Diogenes) was buried beside the gate (of Corinth) leading to the Isthmus. Over the grave they set up a pillar and a dog in Parian marble upon it. Subsequently his fellow citizens honored him with bronze statues " (D. L. 6, 78). This is evidently an invention with no foundation. Pausanias visited Corinth in the 2nd century A. D.; he says: "Going up into Corinth (from the harbor) there are many tombs along the road and near the gate Diogenes of Sinope is buried, he whom the Greeks call by the nickname 'Dog.' Before the city there is a grove of cypress trees called the Craneum; there is the shrine of Bellerophon and the temple of Aphrodite Melanis and the tomb of Laïs upon which is put a lioness holding a ram in her front paws " (*Descriptio Graeciae* 2, 2, 4). If there had been any monument to Diogenes there, such as Diogenes Laertius describes, Pausanias would undoubtedly have mentioned it. Diogenes Laertius puts the grave at the east gate of the city, Pausanias at the north gate; this discrepancy indicates that there was no monument. The story of the people of Sinope putting up bronze statues is shown to be an invention by its indefinite plurality. The people of Sinope knew Diogenes only as a criminal and a fugitive from justice. Prof. David M. Robinson in his research in Sinope found the names Hicesius and Diogenes to be common there but he found no in-

scription relating to Diogenes the Dog (Ancient Sinope p. 299). These stories of the monument and the bronze statues only serve to show that the Legend made Diogenes a great man after his death.

Prof. Kurt von Fritz says that the Republic of Diogenes made war on every law and government (*Quellen-Untersuchungen* pp. 59-60). Philodemus says that the Republic of Zeno was based on the Republic of Diogenes. The Republic of Zeno is said to have prohibited the building of temples, law-courts and gymnasia and the use of currency (D. L. 7, 33). F. Rohde comments on a Utopia written by Iambulus which describes a mythical island whose inhabitants live ideal lives in small groups without laws or governments and expresses the opinion that this Utopia was based on the Republic of Zeno (*Der Griechische Roman* p. 240, Note). We find a similar Utopia in the Pseudo-Callisthenes writings belonging to the 4th century A. D. These Cynic Utopias may be regarded as by-products of the Diogenes Legend.

Those who gave the highest esteem to Diogenes expressed contempt for the Cynics of their time. Epictetus said: "The present Cynics are dogs that wait at tables and in no respect imitate the Cynics of old except perchance in breaking wind but in nothing else" (3, 22, 80). Julian said: "Many disciples of Diogenes . . . have become rapacious and depraved and no better than one of the brute beasts" (6, 197). Did the Cynics sink to a lower level than their predecessors or did the conception of Cynicism change? D. R. Dudley takes the former view; he calls the Cynics of the Christian era "charlatans" and "imposters" (*A History of Cynicism*). He names as real Cynics Cercidas, Dio Chrysostom and Demonax. But these men were not Cynics; neither were those whom Epictetus and Julian regarded as "the Cynics of old." Our earliest information of the Cynics comes from Cicero and Philodemus. Cicero condemned Cynicism and wholly rejected it and Philodemus gives a description of the Cynics which is highly unflattering. We have no reason to believe that the Cynics of the Christian era were inferior to those who preceded them; they seem to have been logical products of Cynic teaching. They were generally illiterate and illiterates are known to preserve oral tradi-

tions with fidelity. There was probably less change in them than there was in the Stoic conception of Cynicism. The early Stoic leaders, Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus, expressed Cynic ideas but later Stoics drifted away from Cynicism and became Socratics. It is probable that their Diogenes went with them. Suidas gives two accounts of Diogenes; in one of them he is a saint and in the other he is not; it is probable that Diogenes the saint was a Stoic Diogenes. The Stoic edition of the writings of Diogenes sponsored by Sotion may have introduced Diogenes as a saint and a refined and elevated form of Cynicism. We find a version of Cynicism which includes religion and morality but we have no information of any one who followed it. We should regard the philosophy of the Cynics as Cynicism and not something apart from them as Dudley seems to think. Philodemus says that the Stoics "put the writings of Antisthenes and Diogenes together," but since the Cynics were illiterate it is not likely that they were influenced by these writings.

The Diogenes of the Legend passed through several phases, some of which were incompatible with others. The stages of development are not clearly defined nor definitely assignable to chronological periods, but Diogenes as a saint appears to be later than the others.

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(1) He became a philosopher through being exiled (D. L. 6, 49; Plutarch, On Contentedness of Mind 6; Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 40, 9). Mentions of him written prior to the 1st century B. C. do not connect him with Antisthenes.

(2) He was an original investigator and developed his philosophy from reflection on the results of observation (D. L. 6, 37; 6th, 18th & 42nd Letters of Diogenes; Julian 6, 187). His reflections were based chiefly upon the conduct of lower animals (D. L. 6, 22, 23 & 60; 16th & 36th Letters of Diogenes; Dio Chrysostom 10, 29-30; Lucian, Cynicus 14-15).

(3) He obtained his first inspiration from reading the poems of Homer and other poets (1st, 7th & 34th Letters of Diogenes; 19th Letter of Crates).

(4) He received one or two lessons from Antisthenes and

entered at once upon the short road to happiness (12th, 30th & 37th Letters of Diogenes; 6th Letter of Crates; Julian 6, 201).

(5) He was a disciple of Antisthenes and put into practice principles which Antisthenes taught but did not follow (Dio Chrysostom 8, 2-3; Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 13, 19; 6th Letter of Crates).

(6) He was a disciple of Antisthenes and imitated his way of life (D. L. 6, 18 & 21; Hireonymus, Adv. Jovin. 2, 14; Aelian, V. H. 10, 16; Epiphanius, Adv. Haeres 3, 2, 9, 27; Claudius Galenus G3).

(7) He was a follower and imitator of Hercules (D. L. 6, 71; Lucian, Vitarum Auctio 10; Julian 6, 187); he obtained his knowledge of Hercules from Antisthenes (Ausonius, Epigrams 46 & 47).

(8) He was a scout sent to inform us that we have no cause for fear or unhappiness (Epictetus 1, 25, 68; Ibid. 3, 22, 24 & 45); he was a minister of God (Epictetus 3, 24, 64); he was divine (Epictetus, Encheiridion 15).

(9) He received a response from an oracle which he accepted as a divine mission (Maximus Tyrius 36, 5-6; Julian 6, 188; Ibid. 7, 212; D. L. 6, 71; Suidas, Diogenes a).

(10) In addition there was an oral tradition of those whom Julian called "uneducated Cynics." We have no complete account of it but information of it can be gained from the numerous stories of Diogenes, many of which, no doubt, came from Cynics.

A difficulty in tracing the life and Legend of Diogenes arises from the fact that Diogenes of Sinope was not the only Diogenes. His being confused with the hero of the romances of Menippus and Eubulus created a large part of the Legend. The first writings attributed to Diogenes were probably written by an Athenian named Diogenes. Marcus Aurelius wrote: "Alexander and Caius (Julius Caesar) and Pompeius, what are they in comparison with Diogenes and Heraclitus and Socrates, for they were acquainted with things and their matter, and the ruling principles of these men were the same. But as to the others, how many things had they to care for and to how many things were they slaves" (Thoughts 8, 3). Here Marcus Aurelius appears to confuse or

combine Diogenes of Sinope with Diogenes of Apollonia, the physicist. A collection of writings of Diogenes by Theophrastus (D. L. 5, 43) has been understood to be writings of Diogenes of Sinope but were probably those of Diogenes of Apollonia. Plutarch tells many stories of Diogenes of Sinope and quotes from Diogenes of Apollonia without giving their distinctive designations and it is not always clear which is meant. The mention of writings of Diogenes by Hironymus (Letter 60, 5) probably refers to Diogenes of Babylon, the Stoic.



## ANTISTHENES THE SOCRATIC

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Antisthenes is said to have been born in Athens, the son of an Athenian of the same name and a Thracian mother. We have no direct information of the date of his birth but it has ordinarily been set at 444 B. C. He is said to have distinguished himself at the battle of Tanagra which took place in 426 B. C. (Thucydides 3, 91) , also to have been a pupil of Gorgias (D. L. 6, 1; Eudocia, Violarium 96) who came to Athens in 427 B. C. Since his parents were not both Athenians, his birth did not entitle him to citizenship, but both Diogenes Laertius and Suidas call him *Ἀθηναῖος* and Epiphanius says, "Antisthenes was the son of a Thracian woman but was himself an Athenian citizen" (Advers. Haeres 3, 2, 9, 26). The opening passage of Diogenes Laertius (6, 1) may be interpreted to mean that he was a citizen in spite of the fact that his parents were not both Athenians. This writer also says: "Being reproached because his parents were not both free born, 'Nor were they both wrestlers,' said he (Antisthenes), 'but yet I am a wrestler'." This evidently means that he obtained citizenship for himself and he may have done so through his military service or with the aid of his friends. He was a friend of the wealthy and influential Callias, who could have obtained citizenship for him. Diogenes Laertius says that Socrates, "When some one told him that Antisthenes' mother was a Thracian, replied, 'Nay, did you expect a man so noble to have been born of two Athenian parents?'" (2, 31). It is noticeable that in this passage and the preceding one the point is not the citizenship of Antisthenes but that of his parents.

The tradition that Antisthenes took lessons from Gorgias indicates that he was the possessor of considerable means, for the lessons of Gorgias were said to be expensive. Two writings attributed to Antisthenes are extant, the *Ajax* and the *Odysseus*; they are rhetorical and, since Gorgias was a teacher of rhetoric, may have been written when he was a pupil of Gorgias. Hierony-

mus says of Antisthenes' writings that some were philosophical and some were rhetorical; he says also that Antisthenes taught rhetoric with renown (*Advers. Jovin.* 2, 14).

Our best sources of information in regard to Antisthenes are the writings of Xenophon and Aristotle and the fragments of his own writings which have come down to us. It is of interest to note that none of these sources furnish any indication that Antisthenes was possessed of any Cynic traits or ideas. We do not know when Antisthenes joined Socrates, but Xenophon describes him as a constant companion of Socrates and Plato says that he was present at the death of Socrates (*Phaedo* 59). Since Xenophon was in Asia for two years before the death of Socrates, it appears that Antisthenes was with Socrates more than two years. Xenophon explains that his object in writing the *Symposium* was to describe the acts of great and good men, and of these Antisthenes is, second only to Socrates, the most prominently mentioned. He represents Callias as classifying Antisthenes among "men with refined minds," and Socrates as classing him with "workers for ourselves in pursuit of wisdom" (*Symposium* 1, 5). He was the owner of real estate (*Symp.* 3, 8) and he received an income from it which was sufficient to pay his living expenses. In his way of life he imitated Socrates, who "lived on very little and yet was wholly independent" (*Xen. Mem.* 1, 2, 14; *Ibid.* 1, 2, 1-3).

Antisthenes explained his attitude in his speech at the banquet and we find in it no similarity to that of the Cynics. His poverty was partial and relative; that of the Cynics was complete. His poverty was forced on him by circumstances; that of the Cynics was optional. He valued his property because it enabled him to live the life he desired; to the Cynics the ownership of property was an evil and the source of unhappiness. The object of Antisthenes was self improvement and helpfulness to others; that of the Cynics was happiness for themselves, which they attained through apathy and idleness. Antisthenes was free from apathy for he had active interests and desires and he rejected idleness. If he should lose his property he will seek some gainful occupation; he was determined to maintain his independence, even at the cost of sacrificing the life he wished to lead; the Cynics were

dependent on others for necessities. The Cynics complained of their hardships; Antisthenes denied that he had any hardships and even that he was poor. He had a comfortable home and a comfortable bed and sufficient means to purchase what he needed or wanted. He rejected luxuries as superfluous and unimportant; the Cynics professed to reject luxuries as harmful and vicious. The Cynics were wise men; Antisthenes hoped to gain some approach to wisdom through a life time devoted to study; he recognized Socrates as wiser than himself and Socrates did not profess to be wise. The Cynics rejected education as useless and unnecessary; Antisthenes prized education above all other things; the "wealth" of which he boasted consisted in his ability to devote his time to educating himself and others and in the advantage which he enjoyed in his association with Socrates. His mention of the pleasure which he derived from association with women and from drinking wine shows that he had no prejudice against ordinary pleasures; the Cynics professed to be at war with pleasure.

Antisthenes congratulated himself on the fact that Socrates had accepted him as a companion; he loved Socrates and spent whole days in his company and Xenophon quotes Socrates as saying that Antisthenes "was always with him" (Symp. 8, 4 & 4, 44; Mem. 3, 12, 73). Antisthenes mentioned the Socratic virtues,—justice, courage and wisdom,—as essential to a good character and he illustrated temperance by his life. He attached a high value to friendships (Symp. 3, 4 & 4, 47-38; Mem. 3, 11, 17).

Xenophon represented Socrates as calling himself "a procurer" and as implying that Antisthenes was another. Socrates said: "You consider it the function of a good procurer to render the man or the woman whom he is serving attractive to his or her associates. One thing that contributes to rendering a person attractive is a comely arrangement of the hair and clothing. If a person could render people attractive to the entire community, would he not satisfy the requirements of the ideal procurer? If one could produce men of this type out of his clients, he would be entitled to feel proud of his profession and to receive a high remuneration. Antisthenes here seems to me to be a man of just this sort" (Symp. 4, 57-61). Socrates explained his meaning by

saying that Antisthenes had, by the exercise of tact, brought about a number of desirable friendships for himself, for Callias and for others. He went on: "It is the witnessing of your talent in achieving such results that makes me judge you an excellent go-between. For the man who can recognize those who are fitted to be mutually useful and can make them desire one another's acquaintance, that man, in my opinion, could also create friendships between cities and arrange suitable marriages, and would be a very valuable acquisition as a friend or ally for both states and individuals" (Symp. 4, 62-64). This description of him had the support of Theopompus, a contemporary of Xenophon and a pupil of Isocrates, "Of all the Socratics Antisthenes alone is praised by Theopompus, who says he had consummate skill and could by means of agreeable discourse win over whomsoever he pleased; and this is clear from his writings and from the Symposium of Xenophon" (D. L. 6, 14).

Aristotle wrote: "A thesis is a supposition of some eminent philosopher that conflicts with general opinion; e. g. the view that contradiction is impossible, as Antisthenes said, or the view of Heraclitus that all things are in motion, or that Being is one, as Melissus says; for to take notice when any ordinary person expresses views contrary to men's usual opinions would be silly" (Topica 1, 2, 104b 20). Aristotle mentioned Antisthenes with respect but was in sharp disagreement with him in regard to the principle of contradiction (Metaph. 5, 29, 1024b), for this principle was the key stone of Aristotle's system of logic (Metaph. 4, 3, 1005b 18). Aristotle used the word *εὐθως* in reference to Antisthenes' attitude on this subject, and the significance of this word has been perverted and exaggerated. It primarily meant "good-naturedly" and it was used by Plato in this sense (Republic 400E). Aristotle usually called those with whom he disagreed "absurd" or "stupid." The word *εὐθως* as used here seems to be an euphemism; it might be translated "mistakenly." We do not know what the theory of Antisthenes was for we have not his statement of it, and Aristotle was often unfair in stating opinions with which he did not agree (Harold Cherniss, Aristotle's Criticism of Pre-Socratic Philosophy). Perhaps Antisthenes de-



fended the attitude of "suspended judgment," which Socrates usually adopted, while Aristotle's logic professed to find definite conclusions.

Aristotle wrote also: "The difficulty which perplexed the Antisthenians and others similarly unlearned has a certain application: I mean the difficulty that it is impossible to define what a thing is (for the definition, they say, is a lengthy formula), but it is possible actually to teach others what a thing is like; e. g. we cannot say what silver is, but we can say that it is like tin" (Metaph. 8, 3, 1043b 24). The designation "unlearned" may mean that the pupils of Antisthenes did not study the *Organon* of Aristotle, for Aristotle regarded all persons who were unacquainted with it as "unlearned" (Metaph. 4, 1005b 3-1006a 6). It does not indicate that Antisthenes was "unlearned" and if he taught persons who were in need of teaching it was not discreditable to him. However, Aristotle admits that the opinion of the Antisthenians was worthy of consideration. It is of interest to note: (1) that Antisthenes had followers; (2) that his followers were called "Antisthenians" and (3) that they were interested in definitions and were following the Socratic tradition (Metaph. 13, 4, 1078b 28). The Cynics were not interested in such subjects.

Diogenes Laertius gives a long list of the writings of Antisthenes and quotes Timon as finding fault with him for writing so much (6, 15-19). Hieronymus mentioned "the countless treatises of Antisthenes" (Advers. Jovin. 2, 14). Photius mentioned with praise the two books of Antisthenes on Cyrus and Ulysses (Bibliotheca 101b) and Fronto says: "Do you rank the words of Diodorus and Alexinus higher than the words of Plato and Xenophon and Antisthenes?" (Ambr. 392). Lucian mentioned the writings of Antisthenes in connection with those of Plato (The Ignorant Book Collector 27). Athenaeus wrote: "Antisthenes in the Second Cyrus condemns Alcibiades and says that he was lawless in his relations with women as he was in other matters, for he says that Alcibiades cohabited with his mother, his sister and his daughter, as the Persians do" (Deipnosophistae 5, 220 c-e). The Cynics approved of incest and did not respect



laws. Athenaeus quoted Theopompus as saying that some of the dialogues of Plato were taken from discourses of Antisthenes (Deip. 11, 508c); since Plato and Antisthenes had the same teacher, there was naturally a similarity in their writings. Julian wrote: "Xenophon, as we know, and Antisthenes and Plato often introduced myths, so that it is obvious that even if the use of the myth is not appropriate for the Cynic, it may be so for some other type of philosopher . . . When Antisthenes and Xenophon and Plato himself discuss certain ethical theories they use myths as one of the ingredients" (7, 215-217). Here we find the writings of Antisthenes classed with those of Plato and Xenophon and as belonging to a type of philosophy distinct from Cynicism. Julian wrote also: "If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purposes . . . it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by them . . . but nothing of the sort exists" (6, 186). Since Julian was acquainted with the writings of Antisthenes and these were serious, he evidently did not class them as Cynic.

Themistius wrote: "I do not call on Plato or Aristotle as witnesses but on the wise Antisthenes . . . for so spoke he: 'Prometheus said to Hercules; "Your way of proceeding is very contemptible because you are occupying yourself with worldly things. There are more important things which concern you, and these you have omitted. You are not fully a man until you have learned what is higher than man; when you learn this you will also learn what is manly. While you are learning only what is worldly, you are wandering like wild animals"'"' (Concerning Virtue 53, Rheinische Museum 27). This appears to be an answer to a story of Prodicus, which Xenophon put in the mouth of Socrates (Mem. 2, 1, 21). Xenophon represented Socrates as repeating this story without criticism or comment, but Antisthenes perceived that it was inconsistent with the teaching of Socrates. Prodicus was a sophist and, as was customary with sophists, represented worldly success—the acquisition of wealth and power—as the object of life. His story related to the early education of Hercules, but Antisthenes gives this education a higher aim.

Athenaeus said that Antisthenes condemned political demagogues and immoral persons and that he had an extreme admira-

tion for Socrates (Deip. 5, 220 e). "Antisthenes being asked how a person should approach politics said, 'Just as to a fire, not so close as to get burned, nor yet so far as to get cold'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 45, 28). The Cynics rejected all participation in politics and were amoralist.

Cicero wrote: "Antisthenes also, in his book entitled *The Natural Philosopher* (D. L. 6, 17) says that while there are many gods of popular belief, there is one god in nature, so depriving divinity of all meaning or substance" (De Natura Deorum 1, 2). Cicero goes on to say that Antisthenes was in agreement with Plato, Xenophon and Speusippus on this point (Cf. Lactantius, Div. Inst. 1, 5, 18; Ibid. Instit. Epitome 4, 2; Minucius Felix 19, 7; Eusebius Pamphili, Praep. Evan. 13, 39). Cicero seems to have understood Antisthenes as meaning that he was a pantheist but it is probable that he was rejecting polytheism. Plato frequently represented Socrates as speaking of God in the singular number. Clemens Alexandrinus wrote: "Not only Plato but many others declare the one true god to be God by his own inspiration. Antisthenes had perceived this, not as a Cynic doctrine, but as a result of his intimacy with Socrates; for he says, 'God is like none else, wherefore none can know him from an image'" (Protrept. 6, 61P; Ibid. Strom. 5, 14, 108). This is a rejection of the anthropomorphism of the Greeks; it is evidently taken from a writing of Antisthenes and Clemens perceives that the opinion expressed came from Socrates. The foregoing passages, taken from Themistius, Cicero and Clemens, show that Antisthenes was religious, as Socrates and Plato also were. The Cynics were atheists or agnostics.

Eudocia says that Antisthenes died at Athens at the age of seventy (Violarium 96), but it is thought that he must have been older than seventy when he died, for Plutarch quotes him as commenting on the battle of Leuctra, which took place in 371 B. C. (Lycurgus 30). The date of his death is ordinarily set at 366 or 367 B. C.

Philodemus wrote in the first century B. C.: "They (the Stoics) put the writings of Diogenes and Antisthenes together, hence (it appears that) they also wish to be called Socratics" (On the

Stoics). The Stoics went further; they claimed a separate succession from Socrates, through Antisthenes, Diogenes and Crates (Cicero, *De Oratore* 3, 16-18). It was generally understood that Zeno, who was regarded as the founder of the Stoic sect, had been a pupil of Crates. Antisthenes and Diogenes were selected as links in the chain connecting Crates with Socrates; but, in the 1st century B. C. Crates was classed as a Cynic and so it became necessary to make Antisthenes and Diogenes Cynics and to regard the Stoics as a branch of a pre-existing sect of Cynics. This claim of succession was fictitious, for we have no reliable information of any connection between Antisthenes and Diogenes or between Diogenes and Crates. There are reasons for believing that Diogenes did not come to Greece before 350 B. C., sixteen years after the death of Antisthenes (*vide supra*, p. 52). If Antisthenes had been the founder of a sect of Cynics, there would have been Cynics in the latter part of the 4th century B. C. and in the 3rd century B. C., but we have no information of the existence of such a sect in that period and it would naturally have been mentioned by Teles. The writings of Teles show that Cynicism was still in the process of formation in his time. Teles (240 B. C.) was a forerunner of the Cynics; he quoted Crates and Bion but did not mention Antisthenes and this shows that there was no connection between Antisthenes and the Cynics. Teles said that Crates, the progenitor of Cynicism, antagonized both the Academy and the Lyceum (*Teletis Reliquiae* p. 40). The 39th Letter of Diogenes mentions the separation of the soul from the body and says: "This, I think, is what the Socratics call death and it is easy to think so." This shows that in the 1st century B. C. the Cynics did not regard themselves as Socratics. Oenomaus, a Greek writer of the 2nd century A. D., said that Cynicism was neither Antisthenean nor Diogenean and Julian concurred with him (6, 187). The Socratics were idealists; the Cynics were realists and materialists; their philosophy was incompatible with idealism. The Stoic claim of being Socratics through succession from Cynics was an absurd inconsistency, because the Cynics were not Socratics.

The Stoic claim of succession from Antisthenes was merely nominal, for the Stoics did not quote from his writings or trace

any of their teaching to him. Epictetus connected the writings of Antisthenes with those of Plato and Xenophon and commended their excellent style (2, 17, 36), but he did not quote them, probably because he did not find in them anything to support either Cynicism or Stoicism. Diogenes Laertius mentions Socratic dialogues written by Antisthenes and believed by Panaetius to be genuine (2, 64); if these dialogues had contained anything supporting Cynic or Stoic teaching it is likely that they would have been preserved or at least quoted by Stoic writers, but no fragment of them has come down to us.

But in making Antisthenes a Cynic it became necessary to invent stories describing him as a Cynic and as expressing Cynic ideas; we find a number of such stories but they are of late origin and are supported by no reliable authority. The following is an example: "Antisthenes used to say that those who had attained discretion had better not study literature, lest they should be perverted by alien influences" (D. L. 6, 103). But it is not likely that a life long student and teacher would have discouraged study or that a voluminous writer would have wished that no one would read his writings. And we find the following opposed to it: "Antisthenes said that it is necessary for those who are to become good men to train the body with gymnastics and the soul with education" (Ioannes Damascenus 2, 13, 68). Another Cynic story of Antisthenes is the following: "He used repeatedly to say, I'd rather be mad than feel pleasure" (D. L. 6, 3). This was evidently invented to show a connection between Antisthenes and Crates, for Crates wholly rejected pleasures. The expression "He used repeatedly to say" shows that it is not a quotation from writings of Antisthenes. When Diogenes Laertius does not name his authority he is merely quoting current gossip of his time, i. e. the 3rd century A. D. In Xenophon's account of the speech of Antisthenes at the banquet, he speaks of the pleasure which he derives from the society of women and from drinking wine; his objection is only to unnecessary extravagance in obtaining them. Antisthenes mentioned also the greater pleasures which he derived from association with Socrates and with his other friends (Symposium 4, 27, 44). The attitude of Antisthenes toward pleasures



is indicated by fragments of his writings. "Antisthenes, saying that pleasure was a good, added that it should be such as did not have to be repented of" (Athenaeus, Deip. 12, 513a). "Neither a banquet without conversation nor wealth without virtue confer pleasure" (Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 1, 30). "The pleasures that come after labor are to be sought but not those that come before it" (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 29, 65). The Cynics avoided labor. "He (Antisthenes) demonstrated that labor was a good by instancing the great Hercules and Cyrus" (D. L. 6, 2).

Antisthenes is quoted as saying: "The wise man will marry in order to have children from union with the handsomest women; furthermore, he will not disdain to love, for only the wise man knows who are worthy to be loved" (D. L. 6, 16). This appears to be an extract from his book, "On the Procreation of Children, or of Marriage, a discourse on love" (D. L. 6, 16). The Cynics repudiated love, marriage and the rearing of children. Clemens Alexandrinus wrote: "Again Antisthenes says that modesty (humility, ἀνυψία) is an end (object) in life" (Strom. 2, p. 59). The Cynics were arrogant and abusive and professed to be superior to other men.

The speeches of Ajax and Ulysses, attributed to Antisthenes, contain no element of Cynicism and their exaltation of military prowess is incompatible with Cynicism. There is no Cynic idea which is traceable to Antisthenes by credible evidence.

Diogenes Laertius says: "He (Antisthenes) used to converse in the gymnasium of Cynosarges at no great distance from the gates and some think the Cynic school derived its name from Cynosarges" (6, 13). Since Antisthenes was an Athenian citizen (vide supra, p. 84), there is no probability that he went to the Cynosarges gymnasium, which was frequented by aliens. Diogenes Laertius did not believe this story himself, for he says: "Some schools take their name from cities, . . . others from localities, . . . others again from derisive nick-names, as the Cynics" (1, 17; cf. Lactantius, Div. Inst. 3, 15). He was in a better position to judge the credibility of this Cynosarges story than we are and, since he did not believe it, there is little reason for our doing so. Earlier writers do not seem to have known anything of this Cynosarges



story, notably the writers of the spurious Letters of Diogenes and Crates. It was repeated later by Eudocia (Violarium 96) and by Suidas (Lexicon, Antisthenes). It was a late invention, probably originating in the 2nd century A. D. with the purpose of evading the generally accepted significance of the word "Cynic" (κυνικός) as "dog-like." The followers of Antisthenes were called "Antistheneans." There were no Cynics in the time of Antisthenes or for a hundred years afterwards. The word "Cynic" is not derivable from Cynosarges; a habitue of the Cynosarges gymnasium would have been called a Cynosargean.

Diogenes Laertius and Athenaeus mention a work entitled *Satho*, or *Of Contradiction* as written by Antisthenes and said to contain abuse of Plato and others (D. L. 3, 35; Athenaeus, *Deip.* 5, 220d & 11, 507a). Both Athenaeus and Diogenes Laertius belonged to the 3rd century A. D. and earlier writers seem to have known nothing of this work. Those who mentioned the writings of Antisthenes usually represented them as in harmony with those of Plato. Cicero wrote: "The Fourth and Fifth *Cyros* pleased me, as have the other writings of Antisthenes, a man more intelligent than learned" (Letter to Atticus 12, 38). The expression "more intelligent than learned" probably indicates that most, if not all, of the writings of Antisthenes were of a popular character, i. e. intended for the general public. The earlier dialogues of Plato were of this character and Aristotle is said to have written a number of dialogues for the public which have not come down to us. Cicero prided himself on being an Academic and if he had found anything in the writings of Antisthenes derogatory to Plato or discordant with his ideas he would not have commended them. His comment shows that there was no Cynicism in these writings for Cicero wholly rejected Cynicism (*De Officiis* 1, 14). The *Satho* appears to have been a late forgery, a part of the myth of a quarrel between Plato and Antisthenes over the principle of contradiction (D. L. 3, 35). This myth probably originated in the Stoic jealousy of the Academy and a desire to show a succession from Socrates apart from Plato. There is no probability that there was a quarrel between Plato and Antisthenes on this subject, for Plato was not a dogmatist and Antisthenes probably was not.

Page 95, after line 23:—

Teles tells us of Diogenes, Crates and Bion but makes no mention of Antisthenes. This indicates that Antisthenes had no connection with his subject.

Oenomaus was regarded by Julian as the leading authority on Cynicism and he said that Cynicism was neither Antisthenean or Diogenean. This is the most reliable information we have in regard to the founders of Cynicism.



The myth probably had no other basis than Aristotle's comment on Antisthenes' attitude toward the principle of contradiction (*Metaph.* 1024b), the name of Plato becoming confused with that of Aristotle.

The fictitious story of a quarrel between Plato and Antisthenes, which made its appearance in the 3rd century A. D., had remarkable consequences. It caused a number of modern scholars to ransack the dialogues of Plato, glean from them all disparaging and critical comments, and interpret them as referring to Antisthenes. Since Plato criticised divers and sundry persons, this resulted in assigning to Antisthenes a multiplicity of characters, some of them incompatible with others and most of them incompatible with Xenophon's description of him. These interpretations are merely conjectures; they cannot be verified and no confidence can be placed in them. It is not easy to believe that Plato would adopt such a covert and cowardly way of attacking an associate or that, if he did, that he would have hidden his meaning so deeply that it remained undiscovered for two thousand years. A. E. Taylor says of these interpretations that they are "really a wanton attempt to find a hidden attack on Antisthenes" (*Plato, the Man and his Work*, p. 333, note). The absurdity of these interpretations is ably and justly commented upon by Prof. Kurt von Fritz (*Gnomon* 8, 2, Jan. 1932).

The Stoic attempt to build a chain of succession from Zeno to Socrates failed to accomplish its main purpose. It was accepted in regard to Antisthenes but it did not reach Socrates because the ideas, teaching and practices of the Cynics were generally recognized to be opposed to the ideas of Socrates. Clemens Alexandrinus, writing at the beginning of the 3rd century A. D., said, "Antisthenes was a hearer of Socrates but became a dog," i. e. a Cynic (*Strom.* 1, 14, 63). Epiphanius wrote in the 4th century A. D., "Antisthenes was at first a Socratic and then became a Cynic" (*Advers. Haeres* 3, 2, 9, 26). These passages have no weight as evidence that Antisthenes was a Cynic, on account of their dates; they merely show the commonly accepted opinions of their time. They did not make the Stoics Socratics. Clemens and Epiphanius realized that Antisthenes could not have become a

Cynic without abandoning the teaching of Socrates. But Antisthenes was about forty-five years old when Socrates died and a man of that age would not have abandoned an advanced philosophy to take up a crude and primitive one. If Antisthenes had abandoned the teaching of Socrates, Xenophon would not have described him as he did. Xenophon was twenty years or more younger than Antisthenes and he is said to have lived ninety years. His *Symposium* was written late in life, probably after the death of Antisthenes. The writing of Aristotle was done after the death of Antisthenes and his mentions of Antisthenes are incompatible with the supposition that Antisthenes was a Cynic.

We should accept Xenophon's account of Antisthenes rather than a late Stoic invention having a recognizable object.



## APPENDIX I

### CRATES OF THEBES

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D. L. and Julian call the writings of Crates collectively *παίγνια*, meaning playful or sportive writings, and most of them seem to be of that character. His verses seem to have had a novelty and wit which made them attractive to the people of his time.

Demetrius Phalereus says: "Even sensible persons will indulge in jests on such occasions as feasts and carousals or when they are addressing a word of warning to men inclined to good living. A reference to the 'far-gleaming meal bag' may then be found salutary. The same may be said of the poetry of Crates; and it would be well if you were to read the 'Praise of the lentil' in a party of free-livers. The Cynic humor is, for the most part, of this character. Such jests, in fact, play the part of maxims and admonitions" (De Elocutione 170). "In many passages there is an air of vigor due to a dash of fun. This is so in comedies, and all the Cynic manner is of this character. Crates' words are an instance in comedy; 'There lieth a dim land under a lurid smoke-pall smothered'" (De Elocutione 259).

### FRAGMENTS

1. "And Stilpo I saw enduring toilsome woes in Megara where men say the bed of Typhus is, comrades about him, wasting time in the verbal pursuit of virtue" (D. L. 2, 118; Hesychius Milesius 52).
2. "Asclepiades the sage of Phlius and the Eretrian bull" (D. L. 2, 126; cf. Hesychius Milesius 36).
3. "Here I saw Miccylus the wool to card,  
While his wife spun, that they by labor hard  
In these hard times might 'scape the hungry jaws of famine"  
(Plutarch, Against running in debt 7).
4. "There is a city Pera in the midst of wine-dark vapor,  
Fair, fruitful, passing squalid, owning naught,  
Into which sails nor fool nor parasite  
Nor glutton, slave of sensual appetite,

But thyme it bears, garlic and figs and loaves,  
 For which things' sake men fight not with each other,  
 Nor stand to arms for money or for fame"  
 (D. L. 6, 85; Apuleius, Defence 26; Demetrius Phalereus, De Eloc.  
 259).

5. "And the Theban Crates says:  
 'Master these exulting in the dispositions of the soul,  
 Enslaved neither by gold nor by languishing love  
 Nor are they any longer attendants of the wanton'  
 And at length infers:  
 'Those, unenslaved and unbended by servile pleasure,  
 Love the immortal kingdom and freedom'  
 He writes expressly in other words 'that the stop to the unbridled  
 propensity to amorousness is hunger or a halter'  
 (Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. 2, 20, 121; Theodoretus, Therapeut.  
 12, 172, 50).
6. "So Crates, thinking that luxury and extravagance were as much to  
 blame as anything for the growth of civil disorders and the rule of  
 despots in states, humorously advised:  
 'Do not, by always making our fare more ample than lentils,  
 Throw us all into discord'" (Plutarch, De sanit. tuend. 7, 125).  
 "And Crates of Thebes said; 'Exalt not the dish of stew above a  
 plate of lentil soup and so set us to quarreling'" (Athenaeus, Deip.  
 4, 158b).
7. "And what has poverty which is unpleasant or painful? Were not  
 Crates and Diogenes poor? And did they not manage to get along  
 easily, having become temperate and beggars and frugal in their way  
 of living and able to profit by plainness? Want and loans surrounded  
 them. Crates says that he gathered shellfish and beans and gifts with  
 them. And if you do this you will easily set up trophies in poverty"  
 (Teles, Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 98).
8. "Here is another specimen of his (Crates') composition:  
 'This much I have which I have learnt and thought,  
 The noble lessons taught me by the Muses;  
 But wealth amassed is prey to vanity'" (D. L. 6, 86).  
 "Wittily also did Crates parody the lines;  
 'Eating and wantonness and love's delights  
 Are all I value,' with;  
 'Learning and those grand things the Muses teach one  
 Are all I value'" (Plutarch, Quomodo quis se citr. invid. laud. possit  
 17, 546).

9. " Perceiving that he was dying, he would chant over himself this charm ;  
' You are going, dear hunchback, you are off to the house of Hades—  
Bent crooked by old age.' For his years had bowed him down " (D. L. 6, 92).
10. " And that none may think I say this at random I will add for your benefit a few lines from the Paignia of Crates:  
' Glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus,  
Ye Muses of Pieria, hearken to my prayer!  
Give me without ceasing victuals for my belly  
Which has always made my life frugal and free from slavery . . .  
To my friends make me useful rather than agreeable.  
As for money I desire not to amass conspicuous wealth,  
Seeking after the wealth of the beetle or the substance of the ant;  
Nay, I desire to possess justice and to collect riches  
That are easily carried, easily acquired, of great avail for virtue.  
If I may but win these I will propitiate Hermes and the holy Muses,  
Not with costly dainties but with pious virtues ' " (Julian, Or. 6, 199;  
Ibid. Or. 7, 213).
11. " Crates says that flatterers live by saying ' Yes ' " (Stobaeus, Flor. 14, 16).
12. " Crates the philosopher to Plain Living:  
' Hail, goddess and queen, darling of good men,  
Plain Living, child of Temperance,  
They honor thy virtue who practice justice ' " (Anthologia Palat. 10, 104; Julian, Or. 6, 199).
13. " There is also his widely circulated day-book, containing:  
' Set down for the chef ten minas, for the doctor  
One drachma, for a flatterer talents five,  
For counsel smoke, for mercenary beauty  
A talent, for a philosopher three obols ' " (D. L. 6, 86).
14. " Hunger stops love, if not, time,  
If these do not quench the flame,  
The treatment which remains for you is hanging " (Anthol. Pal. 9, 417; D. L. 6, 86; Clemens Alex. Strom. 2, 121; Julian, Or. 6, 198D; Suidas, Crates).
15. " He (Crates) has also written tragedies, stamped with a very lofty kind of philosophy; as, for example, the following passage:  
' Not one tower hath my country nor one roof,  
But wide as the whole earth its citadel  
And home prepared for us to dwell therein ' " (D. L. 6, 98).
16. " And Epictetus said that poverty was nothing terrible. It seemed

- terrible to Crates the Theban but he turned his property over to the city and said, 'Crates robs Crates of his property'; then he seemed to have been set free and he put on a wreath, as on account of his freedom, because he had accepted poverty in exchange for wealth" (Simplicius, *Epictetus Ench.* 65; *D. L.* 6, 87; 9th Letter of Diogenes; Apuleius, *Flor.* 14; Gregory Nazianzen, *Carmina de virt.* 5, 228; Suidas, Crates; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 3, 6; Origen, *Against Celsus* 2, 41; Julian, *Or.* 6, 201).
17. "Time bows me down; wise craftsman, making all things weaker" (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 116, 31).
  18. "You do not know how great a power the wallet has, a quart of lupines and to care for no one" (Stobaeus from Teles, *Flor.* 97, 31; *D. L.* 6, 86).
  19. "When Alexander inquired whether he would like his native city to be rebuilt, his answer was, 'Why should it be? Perhaps another Alexander will destroy it again.' Ignominy and Poverty he declared to be his country, which Fortune could never take captive. He was, he said, a fellow-citizen of Diogenes, who defied all the plots of envy" (*D. L.* 6, 93; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 3, 6; Philostratus, *De vita Apoll.* 7, 1).
  20. "I have reproached old age as a great evil; it is the penalty of one to whom death does not occur, but all men desire this; if death comes at some time we complain; thus we are ungrateful by nature, for no one loves life so much as one growing old" (Crates from Antiphanes, Stobaeus, *Flor.* 115, 9).
  21. "The cynic Crates, also, as Sosicrates says in his 'Successions,' censured Demetrius of Phalerum because he had sent him a flask of wine with a wallet of bread; he said, 'Would that the springs might produce bread as well as water'" (Athenaeus, *Deip.* 10, 422c; *D. L.* 6, 90).
  22. "We should not receive gifts from everyone, for it is not fitting that virtue should be nourished by evils" (Anton. & Max. *Serm. de benef. & grat.*).
  23. "Crates seeing an athletic youth becoming fleshy by drinking wine, eating meat and exercising said 'Heavens! He will end by turning himself into a strong prison'" (Antonius & Maximus, *Serm. de incontinentia & ing.*).
  24. "Crates, seeing a golden statue of Phryne the courtesan at Delphi, exclaimed, 'This stands as a trophy to the incontinence of the Greeks'" (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 6, 39; Plutarch, *The fortune or virtue of Alexander*

- 2, 3; Athenaeus, *Deip.* 13, 591; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 9, 3a; Plutarch, *De Pyth. orac.* 14, 40).
25. "As Crates used to say, 'adornment is that which adorns,' and that adorns or decorates a woman which makes her more decorous. It is not gold or precious stones that makes her such, but whatever invests her with that something which betokens dignity, good behavior and modesty." (Plutarch, *Advice to bride and groom* 26).
  26. "Self-control, restraining pleasures with definite limits, preserves houses and also preserves cities, according to the opinion of Crates" (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 5, 63).
  27. "Crates likened the property of the rich and profligate to fig trees growing on cliffs, from which a man can get nothing, but only crows and kites, as with them courtezans and flatterers" (Stob. *Flor.* 15, 10).
  28. "To one asking, 'Of what benefit will it be to me to be a philosopher?' Crates said; 'You will be able to release your possessions easily and give with a free hand, and not be as you are now, evading and delaying and trembling as though your hands were paralyzed; but a man who is affluent in appearance and knowing himself to be destitute is not distressed, but when he has purposed to use (his money) he is able to do so easily, and not having (money) does not yearn for it but will live contented with present things, not desiring what is not present and not discontented with chance happenings'" (Teles, Stobaeus, *Flor.* 3, 97, 31).
  29. "'If we must estimate the happy life from its great pleasures, no one,' says Crates, 'would be happy, but if any one wishes to consider all the ages in the whole of life he will find much more of grief. First, during a half of the whole time he will be indifferent, because he is asleep'" (Remarks follow on the successive stages of life) "'He passes his prime and comes to old age. Again he remains at home, rearing children and regrets the loss of his youth. (He says) youth is dear to me but old age is heavier than Aetna. Therefore I do not see how any one will have lived a happy life if we must measure it by the amount of its pleasures'" (Teles, Stobaeus, *Flor.* 3, 98, 72).



## APPENDIX II

### BION OF BORYSTHENES

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1. " Bion says that good slaves are free, but that evil free men are slaves desiring many things " (Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 39 and 62, 42).
2. " Bion said that grammarians investigating the wanderings of Ulysses did not search for their own and did not see that they had wandered in this, laboring without any profit " (Stobaeus, Flor. 4, 54).
3. " Bion, being asked what was folly, said, ' a hindrance to progress ' " (Stobaeus, Flor. 4, 88).
4. " Bion the sophist said that the love of money was the mother city of all evils " (Stobaeus, Flor. 10, 38).
5. " The contention about burial, says Bion, is the theme of many tragedies " (Stobaeus, Flor. 40, 8).
6. " Antigonus the king asked Bion the philosopher, who was maligned on account of low birth: ' Who and whence among men are you; what is your city and who are your parents? ' He (Bion) said, ' You would act rightly, O king, if when you have need of archers in placing an outpost, you would not ask their ancestry but would take the best bowmen, and so, in regard to friends, you do not inquire where they came from but who they are ' " (Stobaeus, Flor. 86, 13).
7. " Bion said, ' Fortune did not give money to the rich but loaned it ' " (Stobaeus, Flor. 105, 56; this is repeated in Gnomol. Vat. 161, but there Bion is called " the Peripatetic " and this has been traced to Favorinus, cf. Rhein. Mus. 35, p. 412).
8. " And Fortune, says Bion, just as in a play, sometimes in the prologue, sometimes in the after-piece, puts on a mask, sometimes that of a king, sometimes that of a vagabond " (Teles, Stobaeus, Flor. 5, 67).
9. " Bion said; ' Just as little things in purses, even though they have no value, have a value in so far as they are money, so of the rich those who are not worthy rob the worthy of what they possess ' " (Stobaeus, Flor. 91, 32).
10. " Bion said that those men were ridiculous who busied themselves about wealth, which fortune provides but involves niggardliness in keeping and merit in depriving " (Stobaeus, Flor. 93, 34).
11. " Bion said that those studying astronomy were ridiculous for they

did not see fish at their feet on the sea shore but said that they saw them in the heavens" (Stobaeus, Flor. 80, 3).

12. "Bion says that a good man on ceasing to rule as chief magistrate should have become, not richer, but more honored" (Stob. Flor. 46, 23).
13. "Just as we leave our houses, Bion says, when the person renting them or caring for them takes away the door or takes away the tiles or closes up the well, so I will go away from this little body when nature, who rents it, takes away my sight, my hearing, my hands or my feet; I will not stay, but just as I depart from a banquet without difficulty, so I will depart from life when the time comes, 'embark on the ferry'" (Teles, Stobaeus, Flor. 5, 67).
14. "Bion, to one saying that tyranny has beauty, said, 'Alas, the hair is unloosed by tyranny'" (Stobaeus, Flor. 66, 5; Gnomol. Vat. 262).
15. "Bion the sophist called the beards of handsome men Harmodiuses and Aristogitons, as when they were cut off lovers were delivered from a pleasant tyranny" (Plutarch, Amatorius 24).
16. "When he (Bion) was reproached for not paying court to a youth, his excuse was, 'You can't get hold of a soft cheese with a hook'" (D. L. 4, 47).
17. "Being once asked who suffers most from anxiety, he (Bion) replied, 'He who is ambitious of the greatest prosperity'" (D. L. 4, 48).
18. "Being asked by some one whether he should marry, he (Bion) said, 'If you marry an ugly woman you will have trouble (*ποίνην*), if she is beautiful you will have her in common (*κοινήν*)'" (D. L. 4, 48).
19. "He (Bion) called old age the harbor of all ills; at least they all take refuge there. Renown he called the mother of years; beauty another's good; wealth the sinews of success" (D. L. 4, 48).
20. "To some one who had lost his land (through dissipation), he (Bion) said, 'The earth swallowed Amphiarus, but you have swallowed your land'" (D. L. 4, 48).
21. "To be unable to bear an ill is itself a great ill" (D. L. 4, 48).
22. "He (Bion) used to condemn those who burnt men alive as if they could not feel and yet cauterized them as if they could" (D. L. 4, 48).
23. "He (Bion) used repeatedly to say that to grant favors to another was preferable to enjoying the favors of others; for the latter means ruin to both body and soul" (D. L. 4, 49).
24. "The road to Hades, he (Bion) used to say, was easy to travel; at any rate men passed away with their eyes shut" (D. L. 4, 49).

25. "If Socrates had a desire for Alcibiades and abstained, he was a fool; if he did not, he did nothing remarkable" (D. L. 4, 49).
26. "Censuring Alcibiades, he (Bion) said that in his boyhood he drew away husbands from their wives and as a young man the wives from their husbands" (D. L. 4, 49).
27. "When the Athenians were absorbed in the practice of rhetoric, he (Bion) taught philosophy at Rhodes. To some one who found fault with him for this, he replied, 'How can I sell barley when what I brought to market is wheat?'" (D. L. 4, 49).
28. "He used to say that those in Hades would be more severely punished if the vessels in which they drew water were whole instead of being pierced with holes" (D. L. 4, 50).
29. "To an importunate talker who wanted his help he (Bion) said, 'I will satisfy your demand if you will only get others to plead your cause and will stay away yourself'" (D. L. 4, 50).
30. "On a voyage in bad company he (Bion) fell in with pirates. When his companions said, 'We are lost if we are discovered.' 'And I too,' he replied, 'unless I am discovered'" (D. L. 4, 50).
31. "Conceit he (Bion) styled hindrance to progress" (D. L. 4, 50; Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 4, 87).
32. "Referring to a wealthy miser he (Bion) said, 'He has not acquired a fortune; the fortune has acquired him'" (D. L. 4, 50).
33. "'Misers' he said, 'took care of property as if it belonged to them, but derived no more benefit from it than if it belonged to others'" (D. L. 4, 50).
34. "'When we are young,' said he, 'we are courageous, but it is in old age that prudence is at its height'" (D. L. 4, 50).
35. "'Prudence,' he said, 'excels the other virtues as much as sight excels the other senses'" (D. L. 4, 51).
36. "He used to say that we ought not to heap reproaches on old age, seeing that, as he said, 'We all hope to reach it'" (D. L. 4, 51).
37. "To a slanderer who showed a grave face his words were, 'I don't know whether you have met with ill luck, or your neighbor with good'" (D. L. 4, 51; Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 38, 50; Gnomol. Vat. 158).
38. "He used to say that low birth made a bad partner for free speech, for 'It cows a man, however bold his heart'" (D. L. 4, 51).
39. "We ought, he remarked, to watch our friends and see what manner of men they are, in order that we may not be thought to associate with the bad or to decline the friendship of the good" (D. L. 4, 51).

40. " Bion, being asked whether there are gods, replied; ' Will you not scatter the crowd from me, O much-enduring elder? ' " (D. L. 2, 117) .
41. " Bion compared those who lend their ears to flatterers to jars, that you could easily take by the ears and turn about at your will " (Plutarch, *False Modesty* 18) .
42. " Bion says that the deity in punishing the children of the wicked for their fathers' crimes is more ridiculous than a doctor administering a potion to a son or a grandson for a father's or a grandfather's disease " (Plutarch, *Those whom God is slow to punish* 19) .
43. " To Bion it seems impossible to please the many without providing cakes and Thasian wine " (Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse* 66) .
44. " It seems to me that Bion spoke cleverly (when he said), ' How can men rightly pray to Zeus for good children when he was not able to provide them for himself? ' " (Clemens Alex. *Exhortation to the Heathen* 4) .
45. " ' And what wonder is it, ' says Bion, ' if a mouse, finding nothing to eat, gnaws the bag? It would be more wonderful if the bag had eaten the mouse ' " (Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 7, 4) .
46. " ' If these matters should receive speech, ' says Bion, ' as we have and be able to debate with us, would not Poverty say, ' O Man, why do you quarrel with me? ' Just as a servant might say justly to his master, seated in a temple; ' Why do you quarrel with me? I have not stolen from you. Do I not do everything assigned to me by you? Do I not carry the tribute for you in good order? ' And Poverty might say to one accusing her; ' Why do you quarrel with me? You are not deprived of anything good by me, not of temperance, not of justice, nor of courage, nor of the necessities you require. Are not the roads filled with herbs and the springs with abundant water? Do I not offer you as many beds as the earth (contains)? Also mattresses of leaves? Is it not possible for you to rejoice with me? Do you not see an old woman whistling as she eats a barley cake? Do I not prepare for you hunger, a sauce without expense and without weakness? Does not a hungry man eat with the most pleasure and need the least sauce? Does not a thirsty man drink with the most pleasure and wait least for a drink which is not at hand? Does any one hunger for cakes or thirst for snow water? Do not men seek for these things as luxuries? Do I not furnish you with dwellings, bath houses in winter and temples in summer? ' . . . If Poverty should say these things, what would you have to say in reply? I think you would become dumb " (Teles, *Stobaeus*, *Flor.* 1, 5, 67) .
47. " He (Bion) was clever also at parody. Here is a specimen of his



- style: 'O gentle Archytas, musician-born, Blessed in thine own conceit, Most skilled of men to stir the bass of strife' " (D. L. 4, 52).
48. "And it was a clever saying of Bion the philosopher, that just as the suitors, not being able to approach Penelope, consorted with her maid-servants, so do those who are not able to attain to philosophy wear themselves out over other kinds of education which have no value" (Plutarch, *The Education of Children* 7D. Borrowed from Aristippus, D. L. 2, 79).
49. "Clever too is Bion's retort to Theognis, who said:  
'Any man that is subject to poverty never is able  
Either to speak or act; nay, but his tongue is tied'  
'How is it then,' said Bion, 'that you, who are poor, can talk much nonsense and weary us with this rubbish?' " (Plut. *How to Study poetry* 4).
50. "It was silly and foolish of Bion to say that if he were sure to make his field productive and fruitful by lauding it, should he not then seem to be in error if he did not do this rather than give himself the trouble to dig it over? And so too a man would not be an improper subject of praise, if by virtue of praise alone he becomes profitable and abundantly productive of good" (Plutarch, *How to tell a flatterer*, etc. 16).
51. "Bion said to his intimate friends that they were making progress when they could listen to their revilers as though they heard them say:  
'Friend, since you have not the look of a man that is base or unthinking,  
Health and great joy be yours and may the gods grant you happiness'" (Plutarch, *Progress in virtue* 12).
52. "Bion the Borysthenite, when he saw a bronze statue of him (Persaeus) on which was inscribed, 'Persaeus, follower of Zeno of Citium (κίτιᾶ), remarked wittily that the engraver of the inscription had made a mistake, for it should read thus, 'Persaeus, one of the slaves (οἰκετιᾶ) of Zeno.' For he was a slave of Zeno, as Nicias the Nicaean relates in his history of the philosophers and also Sotion the Alexandrian in his 'Successions'" (Athenaeus, *Deip.* 10, 421e).
53. "The Borysthenite Bion was right when he said one should derive his pleasures, not from the table, but from the mind" (Athenaeus 10, 421c).
54. "If a man is but mildly yoked with superstition, he sits in his house, subjecting himself to fumigation and smearing himself with mud, and the old crones, as Bion says, 'bring whatever chance directs and hang and fasten it on him as on a peg'" (Plutarch, *On Superstition* 7E).



55. "Agamemnon in Homer says, 'Tears in his grief his uncombed locks,' from whence comes the humorous saying of Bion that the foolish king in his sorrow tore away the hairs of his head imagining that his grief would be alleviated by baldness" (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 3, 26).
56. "Bion says neatly that it hurts the bald head just as much as the thatched head to have its hairs plucked" (Seneca, *On tranquillity of mind* 8, 3).
57. "What Bion said is true, that all the doings of men are just like their beginnings, and that their life is no more respectable or serious than their conception, that born from nothingness they go back to nothingness" (Seneca, *On tranquillity of mind* 15).
58. "Bion at one time proves by argument that all men are sacrilegious; at another, that no one is. When he is disposed to hurl all men from the Tarpeian Rock, he says: 'Whoever abstracts and consumes and appropriates to his own use what things belong to the gods, commits sacrilege; but all things belong to the gods; that which any one abstracts, therefore, he abstracts from the gods . . . Again when he bids men to break into temples and to pillage the Capitol without fear of punishment, he says that no one commits sacrilege because whatever is abstracted from one place that belongs to the gods is transferred to another place that belongs to the gods' (Seneca, *On benefits* 7, 7, 1-2).
59. "Bion said that there are two lessons for death—the time before birth and sleep" (*Gnomol. Vaticanum* 160).
60. "Bion, being asked when people should eat, said, 'The rich, when they wish, the poor, when they can'" (*Gnomol. Vaticanum* 156).
61. "Bion being asked by some one why he did not profit by the things which were said by him, said, 'Neither do boxes profit by the most useful medicines which they have in them'" (*Gnomol. Vat.* 157).
62. "Bion said that old age was the remnant of life" (*Gnomol. Vat.* 163).
63. "Bion, making inquiries of every one and seeing a youth who was silent, said; 'If you are silent because you are well-bred, you are ignorant; if you are ignorant, it is because of your breeding'" (*Gnomol. Vaticanum* 159).
64. "Bion said that prudence is the general market for good men but that temperance is an army camp" (*Gnomol. Vat.* 162).
65. "When Bion persistently ran down the sooth-sayers, Menedemus said he was slaying the slain" (*D. L.* 2, 135).

66. " Bion says that in taking wild animals you may be bitten; if you grasp a snake by the middle you will be bitten, but if you take it by the neck you will suffer no injury. He says that it is the same way with things; that in taking them up they may cause you grief, but if you grasp them as they are, in the way that Socrates did, you will not be grieved, but if you do otherwise you will have grief, not caused by the things but by your way of meeting them " (Teles, Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 5, 67).
67. " ' You rule well, but I am ruled,' he (Bion) says, ' you rule over many, I am ruled by one who has become my governor. And you having become prosperous give bountifully, I receive from you courageously, not cringing, nor meanly, nor complaining. You make good use of many things; I of a few things; expensive things do not nourish us,' he says, ' nor can we make use of them with benefit, but few and cheap things accompany temperance and not folly ' " (Teles, Stobaeus, Flor. 1, 5, 67).
68. " Bion said that according to Hesiod there were three kinds of students, golden, silver and brazen. The golden were those giving and not learning, the silver giving and not learning and the brazen were those learning and not giving " (Stobaeus, Ecl. 2, 31, 97).
69. Bion responds to a question of Antigonus:—" My father was a freed-man, a dealer in salt fish, a native of Borysthenes, with no face to show, but only the writing on his face, a token of his master's severity. My mother was such as a man like my father would marry, from a brothel. Afterwards my father, who had cheated the revenue in some way, was sold with all his family. And I, then a not ungraceful youngster, was bought by a certain rhetorician, who on his death left me all he had. And I burnt his books, scraped everything together, came to Athens and turned philosopher . . . It is high time that Persaeus and Philonides left off recounting it. Judge me by myself ' (D. L. 4, 46).
70. " How can men be in want of things which they possess? In the same way as bankers, says Bion, have money. They have money but they do not have real use of it, therefore it is not really theirs " (Teles, Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31).
71. " And if any one wishes to be relieved from want or scarcity . . . do not seek money for him. Bion says that this is just as if any one should wish to cause a person suffering with dropsy to cease being thirsty and would give him access to springs and rivers. He would not cure the dropsy, for he by drinking would burst before he could relieve his thirst " (Teles, Stobaeus, Flor. 3, 97, 31).

72. "It was a saying of Bion that though boys throw stones at frogs in sport, yet the frogs do not die in sport but in earnest" (Plutarch, *De solert. animal.* 7, 8).
73. "And Bion when somebody snatched away from him the upper parts of a fish, with a sudden twist snatched it away again himself and having eaten of it liberally he concluded with the quotation, 'Put Ino for her part finished the work on the other side'" (Athenaeus 8, 344).
74. "Pauson the painter received a commission to paint a horse rolling and painted it galloping. His patron was indignant whereupon Pauson laughed and turned the canvas upside down and when the lower part became the upper, the horse appeared to be not galloping but rolling. Bion says that this happens to some arguments when they are inverted" (Plutarch, *The oracles at Delphi* 396E).

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